

PUBLIC RELATIONS,
EDWARD L. BERNAYS

and the
AMERICAN SCENE

^Annotated bibliography of and
Inference (guide to writings by
and about EDWARD

Public relations is today a key activity in the United States. It has an extensive literature. It is taught in the universities. But bibliography of the field is extremely limited. Yet bibliography is an essential tool for an organized approach, through research and study, to basic knowledge and viewpoints in any field.

A reference guide to published material by and about the practitioner is vital today in order to provide data for those who are studying public relations. Hence this book, the first of its kind.

It was decided to do a bibliography of published material by and about Edward L. Bernays, public relations counsel, because of his outstanding position in the field a position which has prompted Time magazine and other authorities to call him "U.S. Publicist No. 1."

This book is an indispensable source of information and guidance to published material for all those concerned with the practice, theory and dynamics of public opinion and public

relations.

Fully annotated, it presents a panorama of the growth of public relations in the United States in the past three and a half decades. Its nearly 400 references show the development of the profession of public relations counsel, changing attitudes toward it, the public's growing understanding. Graphically, it illustrates how the creative pioneering viewpoint of one man has penetrated various fields of American thought and activity.

Abstracts of books, articles and talks by Mr. Bernays deal with the public relations problems of industry, education, the social sciences, labor, government, the

Public Relations, Edward L. Bernays
and the American Scene

Annotated Bibliography of and

Reference Guide to Writings By

and About Edward L. Bernays

from 1917 to 1951

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the Rumford Press, Concord, New Hampshire

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^Preface

By any test, public relations is today a recognized profession ; it has its responsible practitioners; it has a growing number of university courses; it has a growing sense of social responsibility. It has its own training courses and it can point to a steady growth of conscious public relations activity by profit and non profit institutions and by government agencies with professional public relations counsel in charge.

Most important for our purposes, public relations has its own field of literature and this book will deal with a vital segment of that field.

Literature on public relations is extensive, but a check of public libraries reveals that much of this literature is scattered in books on related subjects and in magazines. Bibliography of the field is extremely limited.

Yet bibliography is recognized as a vital tool in providing an organized approach to basic knowledge and points of view in any subject. To individuals working in any field of research or study, bibliography is indispensable. Unfortunately, there has been little bibliography in public relations, principally because it is a new subject. There are, to be sure, journals which cover the literature in related fields, such as *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, but these concern themselves chiefly with books, and do not as a rule cover even important material appearing in magazines and other publications.

There are two important bibliographies in the general field *Propaganda and Promotional Activities* \ edited by Lasswell, Casey and Smith and published by the University of Minnesota Press in 1935; and a comparable volume published by the Princeton University Press in 1946. But even these standard works do not include all the available material on public relations, particularly pamphlets, booklets, quotations from books and so on.

Since there is today widespread interest in public relations, and a growing literature about it, it was believed that a bibliography of published material by and about the leading practitioner would provide important data for those who are studying the field both in the universities and outside them.

Among other things, such a bibliography would show the scope and ad

vance of the profession of public relations counsel, changing attitudes toward the profession, the public's growing understanding of it, and how a point of view has extended and penetrated into many fields of learning. To achieve this purpose, the items in the bibliography would of necessity have to be abstracts of the original material, in some cases fairly long, in order to give a clear picture of the movement of ideas.

This work, then, is concerned with published material by and about Edward L. Bernays, public relations counsel. This choice appeared to be ideal for a bibliography because of Mr. Bernays' outstanding position as a founding-father, practitioner and theoretician.

Time magazine has called him U. S. Publicist No. 1 ; and William H. Baldwin of Baldwin and Mermey, in *Two-Way Street* by Eric Goldman, has said of him: "Bernays had more to do with developing acceptance of PR and public relations counsel than any half dozen other persons."

Mr. Bernays coined the term "public relations counsel." In *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (1923), the first full length book on public relations, he defined the principles and techniques of the field. He also broke ground when he gave a course in public relations at New York University in 1923, the first course in that subject ever given at any university.

While successfully practicing his profession for over thirty years as counsel for leading American organizations and individuals in partnership with his wife, Doris E. Fleischman, he has written and lectured on public relations, and allied subjects, greatly advancing understanding of these fields.

In 1948-50, he was Adjunct Professor of Public Relations at New York University; and in 1950, he conducted classes and seminars as Visiting Professor of Public Relations at the University of Hawaii.

Because of the great amount of material by and about him in books, magazines and published speeches, it was felt that a bibliography based on this material could shed considerable light on the development of public relations in the United States and serve as an invaluable guide for those who wish to study the field.

Since a complete bibliography on this subject would have been too large and cumbersome, we have omitted newspaper comment or mention, all unpublished talks by Mr. Bernays and magazine material about him.

The bibliography covers the period from 1917 to 1951, and is divided into three parts, consisting of five sections plus an addenda. The first section covers writings by Mr. Bernays appearing in books; the second, writings by Mr. Bernays in periodicals; the third, published talks by Mr. Bernays; the fourth, books mentioning Mr. Bernays; and the fifth, profiles of Mr. Bernays.

Among other things, this bibliography shows how an idea spreads and gains acceptance through the slow absorptive power of society. Listings of Mr. Bernays' writings and footnote references to them in various books have been

included here to indicate how his pioneer thinking in the field has influenced the thinking of others, thereby becoming an integral part of contemporary thought.

Together the items in this book show how public relations grew from the days when it affected a relatively small area of American life to the present, when it involves every major aspect of our society. The writings by and about Mr. Bernays summarized in these pages present the impact of public relations on industry, education, the social sciences, labor, the press, book publishing, radio, motion pictures, art, medicine, nursing, banking, trade, management-employee relations, women, politics, public opinion, attitude polls, democracy, the armed forces, government and so on.

Thus, in covering writings by and about America's leading public relations counsel, this bibliography gives us a history of a key field as it has developed in the United States during the past three decades.

Mr. Bernays is now at work on a book about public relations in the United States, which will be published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

THE EDITOR

Tart One

WRITINGS BY EDWARD L. BERNAYS

Writings by

EDWARD L. BERNAYS

Appearing in Books

Books by Edward L. Bernays

Crystallizing Public Opinion. N. Y: Boni and

Liveright, Inc., 1923. 218pp.

The pioneer study in the field of public relations.
Now a standard textbook widely used in universities
and widely quoted.

Dedicated "To My Wife, Doris E. Fleischman,"
the work is described as follows in the Foreword by
ELB: "In writing this book I have tried to set down
the broad principles that govern the new profession
of public relations counsel. These principles I have
on the one hand substantiated by the findings of
psychologists, sociologists, and newspapermen
Ray Stannard Baker, W. G. Bleyer, Richard Wash-

burn Child, Elmer Davis, John L. Given, Will Irwin, Francis E. Leupp, Walter Lippmann, William MacDougall, Everett Dean Martin, H. L. Mencken, Rollo Ogden, Charles J. Rosebault, William Trotter, Oswald Garrison Villard, and others to whom I owe a debt of gratitude for their clear analyses of the public's mind and habits; and on the other hand, I have illustrated these principles by a number of specific examples which serve to bear them out. I have quoted from the men listed here, because the ground covered by them is part of the field of activity of the public relations counsel. The actual cases which I have cited were selected because they explain the application of the theories to practice. Most of the illustrative material is drawn from my personal experience; a few examples from my observation of events. I have preferred to cite facts known to the general public, in order that I might explain graphically a profession that has little precedent, and whose few formulated rules have necessarily a limitless number and variety of applications. This profession in a few years has developed from the status of circus agent stunts to what is obviously an important position in the conduct of the world's affairs. If I shall, by this survey of the field, stimulate a scientific attitude towards the study of public relations, I shall feel that this book has fulfilled my purpose in writing it." Part I, Scope and Functions, discusses "The Scope of the Public Relations Counsel," "The Public Relations Counsel; The Increased and Increasing Importance of the Profession," and "The Function of a Special Pleader." Part II, The Group and Herd "What Constitutes Public Opinion?", "Is Public Opinion Stubborn or Malleable?", "The Interaction of Public Opinion with the Forces That Help to Make It," "The Power of Interacting Forces That Go to Make up Public Opinion," "An Understanding of the Fundamentals of Public Motivation Is Necessary to the Work of the Public Relations Counsel," "The Group and Herd Are the Basic

Mechanisms of Public Change," and "The Application of These Principles." Part III, Technique and Method, "The Public Can Be Reached Only Through Established Mediums of Communication," "The Interlapping Group Formations of Society, The Continuous Shifting of Groups, Changing Conditions and the Flexibility of Human Nature Are All Aids to the Counsel on Public Relations," and "An Outline of Methods Practicable in Modifying

the Point of View of a Group." Part IV, Ethical Relations, analyzes the press and other media of communication in reference to the public relations counsel, and the obligations of the public relations counsel to the public as a special pleader.

Beginning with the statement, "A new phrase has come into the language counsel on public relations, what does it mean?", Crystallizing Public Opinion ends with the paragraph, "It is in the creation of a public conscience that the counsel on public relations is destined, I believe, to fulfill his highest usefulness to the society in which he lives." In the preface to the new edition, ELB also says: "In the ten years that have elapsed since this book was written, events of profound importance have taken place. During this period, many of the principles set forth in the book have been put to the test and have been proven true. The book, for instance, emphasized ten years ago that industrial organizations dealing with the public must take public opinion into consideration in the conduct of their affairs. We have seen cases in the past decade where the public has actually stepped in and publicly supervised industries which refused to recognize this truth. The field of public relations counsel has developed tremendously in this period. But the broad basic principles, as originally set forth are as valid today as they were then, when the profession was . . . comparatively new. . . . It seems appropriate that this new edition . . . should appear at a time when the new partnership of government, labor and industry has brought public relations and its problems to the fore. The old group relationships that make up our society have undergone and are undergoing marked changes. The peaceful harmonizing of all the new conflicting points of view will be dependent, to a great extent, upon an understanding and application by leaders of public relations and its technique. In the future, each industry will have to act with increasing understanding of its relationship to government, to other industries, to labor, to stockholders and to the public. Each industry must be cognizant of new conditions and modify its conduct to conform to them if it is to maintain the good-will of those upon whom it depends for its very life. This principle applies not only to industry; it applies to every kind of organization and institution that uses special pleading, whether it be for profit or for any other cause. The new social and economic structure in which we live today demands this new approach to the public. Public relations has come to play an

important part in our life. It is hoped that this book may lead to a greater recognition and application of sound public relations principles."

Propaganda. N. Y: Horace Liveright, Inc., 1928.

159pp.

An original study of the "new propaganda" in business, politics, education, social service, art, and science; a standard textbook on university lists of recommended or required reading.

Sub-titled "The Public Mind in the Making," and dedicated "To My Wife, Doris E. Fleischman," publisher's comment appears on jacket: "When Mr. Bernays' Crystallizing Public Opinion was published five years ago, H. L. Mencken said: 'I only hope that he returns to it anon, and writes a bigger and more exhaustive book.' This . . . is, in a sense, the answer to Mr. Mencken's suggestion. Propaganda has become so necessary a part of every idea and organization striving for public acceptance that its possibilities and . . . limits need to be defined. In this book Mr. Bernays analyzes the relation of this new force to the unprecedented conditions which have called it into being. He discusses the reasons for propaganda, the new type of propaganda, the new propagandist, and especially the new media the radio, telephoto, and other epoch-making mechanisms for the transmission of ideas. He approaches the question of public relations from the standpoint of the new psychology, and of the old. Finally he discusses the new trends in big business, social service, education, art, politics, and other forces of present-day life. The book is the first contribution to the subject of propaganda from the standpoint of theory and practice, by one who has followed both phases. Mr. Bernays has been instrumental in developing the new profession of public relations counsel. Out of an experience drawn from fifteen years of activity with all kinds of individuals and movements seeking public good will, he sets forth the ideas which his creative mind has developed in the course of practical experience." ELB begins Chapter I, "Organizing Chaos," with: "From our leaders and the media they use to reach the public, we accept the evidence and the demarcation of issues bearing upon public questions; from some ethical teacher, be it a minister, a favorite essayist, or merely prevailing opinion, we

accept a standardized code of social conduct to which we conform most of the time. . . ." Quoting H. G. Wells, other authors, college professors, businessmen, the New York Times; stating numerous statistics; referring to Walter Lippmann, Trotter, LeBon, Graham Wallas, as well as J. P. Morgan and George Olvany while giving numerous detailed illustrations from ELB's own experience the ten subsequent chapters analyze and discuss "The New Propaganda," "The New Propagandists," "The Psychology of Public Relations," "Business and the Public," "Propaganda and Political Leadership," "Women's Activities and Propaganda," "Propaganda for Education," "Propaganda in Social Service," "Art and Science," and "The Mechanics of Propaganda." The last chapter contains the statement, "If the public relations counsel can breathe the breath of life into an idea and make it take its place among other ideas and events, it will receive the public attention it merits. There can be no question of his 'contami

nating news at its source' " and ends, ". . . Undoubtedly the public is becoming aware of the methods which are being used to mold its opinions and habits. If the public is better informed about the processes of its own life, it will be so much the more receptive to reasonable appeals to its own interests. No matter how sophisticated, how cynical the public may become about publicity methods, it must respond to the basic appeals, because it will always need food, crave amusement, long for beauty, respond to leadership. If the public becomes more intelligent in its commercial demands, commercial firms will meet the new standards. If it becomes weary of the old methods used to persuade it to accept a given idea or commodity, its leaders will present their appeals more intelligently. Propaganda will never die. . . . Intelligent men must realize that propaganda is the modern instrument by which they can fight for productive ends and help to bring order out of chaos."

Public Relations. Vocational and Professional Monographs. Boston: Bellman Publishing Company, Inc., 1945. 23pp.

A history and analysis of the growing profession of public relations; the personal qualifications and aptitudes required for it; the necessary scholastic background; employment opportunities; possibilities

for women; professional competition; advancement; ethics of the profession and remuneration. The book opens with a biographical sketch of ELB and closes with a bibliography.

Speak Up for Democracy: "What You Can Do A Practical Plan of Action for Every American Citizen." N. Y: The Viking Press, 1940. 127pp. In his foreword, ELB says: "American men and women want to contribute something vital to the fight for Democracy. And you can. This book outlines methods for furthering the acceptance and support of Democracy by you. Whoever and wherever you may be, you can play your part effectively as a fighter for Democracy, using ideas as weapons." The theme, aim and scope of the book are outlined in great detail in the "Contents." The book explains Democracy and maps out a practical program of public relations and community activity on "how to speak up for Democracy." The Appendix contains The Declaration of Independence, Jefferson's first inaugural address and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. The section headed "Statements" contains The American Flag, The American Creed, Because I Am An American, A Call to America issued by the Citizenship Educational Service; a Statement of Purpose by the Common Council for American Unity; a Statement of Purpose by the Council for Democracy; and a Statement of morale issued by "an all-day conference on national morale . . . held in New York on September 17, 1940" by "outstanding educators and publicists" under the chairmanship of ELB. The "Education for Democracy" section lists "correspondence courses in colleges and universities on aspects of Democracy." "References, Bibliographies" lists "books dealing with Democracy." There

is a list of books on "Holidays and Celebrations" and "Leadership." A separate bibliography lists motion pictures for children; there are other bibliographies on promotional methods, public opinion and public relations, public speaking, putting on a show, radio, books for children, a reading list for teachers and educators. Other sections deal with forums, channels of communication, how to write to public officials, a list of associations and societies; special occasions, places and symbols; special days and weeks; national shrines and monuments; national symbols; documents, institutions and ideas; and events and actions. There is also a glossary of Democratic Terms.

Take Your Place At the Peace Table: "What You Can Do to Win a Lasting United Nations Peace." N. Y: International Press, 1945. 60pp.

"This book is aimed at the millions of sincere Americans and the hundreds of American organizations who are realistic about winning a United Nations peace. ... If only thousands learn to carry on for peace by using the tested skills and practices of the professional public relations expert, the result will be worth while." This book outlines public relations techniques by which American citizens and organizations can help in "winning the peace."

Introduction.

"A practical and realistic guide book to action . . . [on] how to mold public opinion in support of a World Security Organization." Contents: "Chapter I How You Can Work For the Peace (The individual is all-powerful; The common man speaks; Economics and peace; What you can do; Strategy and planning are needed); Chapter II Dumbarton Oaks: The First Step (What are the Dumbarton Oaks proposals? Yalta and San Francisco; Unified activity is needed); Chapter III How to Make Your Plans (Objectives; Assets and Liabilities; Strategy; Appeals; Organization; Timing); Chapter

IV How to Use Your Tools, Publications, Radio, Motion Pictures (Publications; News coverage ; How to prepare material; Angling material; Interviews; Writing techniques; Mechanical presentation; Photographs and other graphic presentations; Distribution of material; Radio; Motion pictures); Chapter

V How to Use Your Tools, Good Talk, Mail Events (Talk, a psychological tool; Lecture and study courses; Parliamentary procedure; Public meetings; Building up an audience; Audience participation; Speeches; Telephone; Telegrams; Advertising; Bill boards, car cards and posters; Buttons, stickers, movieslides; Direct-by-mail; Mailing lists; Leaflets and pamphlets; News letters, bulletins; Planned events; Aim at perfection; Cooperation with press; Small display items); Chapter VI Organizing Your Community for the Peace (Composition of steering committee; Plan; Formation of permanent committee; Card lists; Announcement luncheon; Additional suggestions; Planned events; Summing up) Chapter VII Speak Your Peace. Contents of Appendix: Historical Background (History of Amer

ican Peace Making; The Revolutionary War, 1776-1783; The War of 1812; The Mexican War, 1846-

1848; The Civil War, 1861-1865; The Spanish-American War, 1898; World War I, 1917-1918); Books and Pamphlets (Books available from trade publishers; Books and pamphlets available from organizations); Directories (Directories of directories; General directories; Motion pictures; Press; Radio; Government; U. S. Government Manual; Publicity); Exhibits (Bibliography); Motion Pictures (Bibliography; Films available from organizations; Newsreel companies); Periodicals, Books and Manuals of Possible Interest (Advertising; Publishing; Motion Pictures; Public opinion and public relations; Public meetings; Public speaking); Radio (Broadcasts; Bibliography; Broadcasting systems; Recordings); Press (Newspaper feature syndicates; News services; Photographic syndicates; Foreign language newspapers); Lecture Bureaus; Speakers; Library Services; House Foreign Affairs Committee; Senate Foreign Relations Committee; World Organization Lists; Writing to Public Officials." Portrait of ELB, as well as characteristic opinions about his work, are on the back cover, "As Others See Him . . ."

Books to Which Edward L. Bernays Has Contributed

American Academy of Political and Social Science: Annals. Philadelphia, The Academy. Vol. 179, May 1935. 287pp.

This volume, devoted to a discussion with the overall title "Pressure Groups and Propaganda," contains an article by ELB on "Molding Public Opinion" which considers "some of the high spots in the background of public opinion, the field in which the counsel on public relations works." After analyzing the meaning of such terms as "the public," and "group leadership," and such factors as symbols and human motivations, he discusses four "specific steps that have to be taken in formulating a public relations program." These are: (1) formulation of objectives; (2) analysis of the public's attitude towards the industry and the services it renders; (3) a study of this analysis with a view to keynoting the approach to the public in terms of action by the industry; this is to be followed by the formulation of policy and a

program for educating the public; (4) the carrying out of this program by dramatizing it through the various media of communication, pp. 82-87.

Annals: "Public Education for Democracy," Vol. 198, Jul 1938. 253pp.

An analysis of public relations techniques and media which can be used for the propagation and strengthening of democracy.

"Today, democracy is challenged on all sides. It is the obligation of all those who are interested in democracy to do all in their power to strengthen it in order to preserve it. This demands the building up of an inner bulwark of dynamic belief and confidence in our democracy by all the people."

ELB continues: "Freedom of self-expression is the essence of democracy. This freedom has been guaranteed by our American Constitution, in the Bill of

Rights. It includes freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press, of petition, of religion. These freedoms in themselves create conflicts of opinion. Freedom of opinion is, therefore, an important element in democracy." Pointing out that "not until recently has our democracy been assailed from within and from without by opinions contrary to it," ELB also says that since "it is part of our democratic American heritage to abhor censorship, . . . the wall against which the anti-democratic missiles are hurled [must be made] . . . strong and impregnable, capable of standing firm against any onslaught. If we are to maintain the democracy upon which our system rests, we must depend upon the acceptance and defense of democracy by all the people. ... Of course, the very processes of democracy work toward these ends through universal education, through our political institutions, and through the exercise of civil liberties. . . . But, in these critical times, we must, in addition, make use of all the available socially sound methods to help in the upholding of our democracy. . . . To engage in this task of public education, we must understand how to reach the people with democracy's message, how to tell them what democracy means, so that they will understand it and appreciate it. Lip service to democracy is not enough. It must be implemented by the will and action of the people to preserve democracy at all costs."

Subsequently, the analysis includes a discussion of the "Means of Communication," "Importance of Private Enterprise," "Linking Private Enterprise with Democracy," and [the necessity of] "Presenting Democracy's Values": "It is thus our duty," ELB concludes, "to strengthen the program of public education and public information to the end that everyone in America may understand the social significance of democracy, and its value for every man, woman, and child. What we must strive for is the achievement of that inner faith and devotion to democracy within our people which will make them active against encroachments on the essential liberties which are the basis of democracy." pp. 124-127.

. Annals: "The Engineering of Consent,"

Vol. 250, Mar 1947. 183pp.

ELB urges recognition of "the significance of modern communications not only as a highly organized mechanical web but as a potent force for social good or possible evil"; declares that "leaders ... of major organized groups such as industry, labor, or units of government, . . . with the aid of technicians . . . who have specialized in utilizing the channels of communication, have been able to accomplish purposefully and scientifically what we have termed 'the engineering of consent'"; explains that "this phrase quite simply means the use of an engineering approach ... action based only on thorough knowledge of the situation and on the application of scientific principles and tried practices to the task of getting people to support ideas and programs. Any person or organization depends ulti-

mately on public approval, and is therefore faced with the problem of engineering the public's consent to a program or goal. ..." Among other suggestions, he "outlines basic principles and techniques of engineering consent . . . based on four prerequisites: 1. Calculation of resources, both human and physical; i.e., the manpower, the money, and the time available for the purpose; 2. As thorough knowledge of the subject as possible; 3. Determination of objectives, subject to possible change after research; specifically, what is to be accomplished, with whom and through whom; 4. Research of the

public to learn why and how it acts, both individually and as a group. Only after this preliminary groundwork has been firmly laid is it possible to know whether the objectives are realistically attainable. . . . Strategy, organization and activities will be geared to the realities of the situation." pp. 113, 120.

American Nurses' Association. "ANA Public Relations Workshop: A Manual of Practical Public Relations Techniques Prepared for the Guidance of the National Membership of the American Nurses' Association." 1948. 32pp.

Discussing "What Public Relations Is," ELB says: "Good public relations for the nursing profession depends upon two distinct conditions: the first is that you understand the public and that the public understands you; the second is that you meet the needs of the public for nursing service." ELB then outlines strategy and tactics by which nurses can carry out a successful public relations campaign. pp. 3-7.

Bernays, Edward L., ed. "An Outline of Careers: A Practical Guide to Achievement by Thirty-Eight Eminent Americans." N. Y: George H. Doran Company, 1927. 431pp.

In his introduction, ELB says: "This volume is the work of men and women who appreciate the importance of placing in the hands of the youth of this country information concerning all phases of professional and industrial life, so that they may choose their careers with a broad as well as a detailed understanding of what any branch of activity may hold in store for them." Among the 38 contributors are Reeve Schley, Vice President, Chase National Bank, on banking; Ray Long, Editor-in-Chief, International Magazine Corporation, on editing; John Hays

Hammond, on engineering; J. Butler Wright, Assistant Secretary of State, on the foreign service ; Roy W. Howard, Chairman of the Board, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, on journalism ; Dr. William Allen Pusey, Ex-President of the American Medical Association, on medicine; Dwight F. Davis, Secretary of War, on the Army; Jesse L. Lasky, Vice President, Famous Players-Lasky Corporation, on motion pictures; Henry Sloane Coffin, President, Union Theological Seminary, on the ministry; Joseph P. Day, on real estate; David Belasco, the stage. The chapter on "Public Relations" by Edward L. Bernays, pp. 285-96, is preceded by the following biographical sketch :

"Bernays, Edward L., b. Vienna, Austria, Nov. 22, 1891; s. Ely and Anna (Freud) B; prep. edn. De Witt Clinton High Sen., N. Y.; B. S. Cornell U., 1912; m. Doris E. Fleischman, of New York City, Sept. 16, 1922. News paper work, New York, 1913-15; planned first performance of 'Damaged Goods,' 1913; publicity rep. of theatrical managers and stars; mgr. Russian Ballet Tour in U. S. for Met. Opera Co., 1915-16; pub. mgr. Met. Musical Bureau, 1916-17; mgr. Caruso and other musical stars, 1917-18; served as mem. U. S. Com. on Public Information at Peace Conf., Paris, 1918-19; reemployment ex-servicemen, U. S. War Dept., 1919; counsel on public relations to governments, industries, corps. and trade orgns. since 1919; asst. Commr. U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Paris Expn., 1925. Lecturer, New York U. on public relations. Clubs: Newspaper, Cornell (New York); Author: Crystallizing Public Opinion, 1924; (with others) Broadway Anthology, 1917."

Bijur, George, ed. "Choosing a Career" N. Y:

Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1934. 274pp.
Collection of speeches delivered at the First Choosing-A-Career Conference for College Men and Women. Contains an address by ELB on the career of "Public Relations." Mr. Bernays is described as "Public Relations Counsellor to Governments, Industries, Organizations and Individuals." pp. 143-161.

Boston Conference on Distribution. Proceedings of Twenty -Second Annual Boston Conference on Distribution held in Boston October 16 and 17, 1950, auspices Retail Trade Association of the Boston Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston University College of Business Administration, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and others. 1950. 124pp.

The section of the proceedings devoted to "Developing Executive Leadership: A Survey of Opinion among 70 Leading American Executives Conducted by the Boston Conference on Distribution," contains a contribution by ELB. He says that "we here in America are in a worldwide movement toward recognition that the promises made in documents like the Declaration of Independence and our Federal Constitution the promises of American life must be increasingly fulfilled. This program of fulfillment includes for all the people, proper education and training, stable employment, adequate reward, shelter, clothing and leisure pursuits, advancement on merit, the opportunity to exercise deserved leadership, freedom, equality and orderly justice and complete integration of the individual with the community and with society as a whole."

The obligation to fulfill this program, according to ELB, "rests in great part on the men who control the economic aspects of our society as managers, trustees or proprietors of American businesses large and small. These men must have an intellectual grasp of the world in which they live and operate. . . . Accordingly, business has to recruit its leaders from a group that has been trained to deal with prob

lems of business and of leadership and has been steeped in the knowledge of the society in which we live and in the American tradition." p. 1 19.

The Broadway Anthology. Bernays, Edward L.; Hoffenstein, Samuel; Kingsley, Walter J., and Pemberton, Murdock. N. Y.: DufHeld & Company, 1917, 60pp.

This collection of verse by leading press agents of the theatre and music contains ten poems in free verse by ELB: Accidents Will Happen satirizes a tenor's

passion for publicity; The Baritone describes how a famous Metropolitan singer wanted to ride on the cheapest train; Patriotism pokes fun at a wartime orchestra; The Pillow Cases tells of a singer who transported his own baggage on a concert tour; Better Industrial Relations describes the adventures of a publicity man; The Prima Donna tells how an opera star refuses to talk to her press agent because a great international disturbance kept her photos out of the papers; Press Stories, Tears and Photographs also deal with the relations of press agent and star. Example :

"Though bandsmen's notes from the street
below resound,

And the voices of jubilant masses proclaim a
glorious holiday,

I painstakingly pick out words on the type
writer,

By fits and starts, thinking up a story about
the great Metropolitan tenor."

Bryson, Lyman; Finkelstein, Louis; and Mac-
Iver, R. M., ed. "Approaches to Group Under-
standing": Sixth Symposium of the Conference
on Science, Philosophy and Religion. N. Y:
Harper & Brothers, 1947. 858pp.

Chapter X, "The Public Relations Counsel and
Group Understanding," is by ELB. pp. 100-106.

See Addenda, Item 5.

"Learning and World Peace" Eighth Sym-
posium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy
and Religion. N. Y: Harper & Brothers, 1948.
694pp.

Chapter XXXVIII, "Mass Education, Idea Com-
munications, and the Problems of National Sanity
and International Cooperation," is by ELB. pp.
411-417. See Addenda, Item 6.

Chase, Stuart; Ruttenberg, Stanley H. ; Nourse,
Edwin G. ; Given, William B. Jr. "The Social
Responsibility of Management. See Addenda,
Item 8.

Ghilds, Professor Harwood L., comp. "A Reference Guide to the Study of Public Opinion." With a Preface by Edward L. Bernays. Princeton, N. J: Princeton University Press, 1934. 105pp. ELB says that "today public opinion plays so important a role that few people can say justly that they are not concerned with the subject." p. iii.

Cousins, Norman, ed. "A Treasury of Democracy."

N. Y: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1942. 306pp. The chapter entitled "Living Affirmations" contains a section by ELB in which he says: "Democracy values individual dignity and worth; guarantees the

five freedoms of religion, speech, press, assembly and petition; safeguards private property; practices orderly and open justice; functions by majority rule; makes security, social and economic, its ideal; assures the education of all; and places on the individual the obligation to serve the state. . . . Though democracy has not been completely achieved in this country or anywhere else, it is a way of life, an ideal, toward which we have been moving and will move. . . . America has today the strongest force in the world the free human will and a free people. . . . We are careful in making laws to prevent one group from hurting the interests of other groups, which is the essence of democracy." pp. 168-169.

Dryer, Sherman H. "Radio in Wartime." N. Y:

Greenberg, 1942. 384pp.

Chapter II, "The Secret Weapon," contains a "Commentary by Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations and author, associated with the United States Committee on Public Information in World War I," pp. 71-77. Here ELB suggests that to meet the needs of World War II, radio should act as a unit "and of its own volition," name "a board of strategy which will include experts in psychology, public opinion, radio programming and communications to set up blueprints for a balance of entertainment and escapism, of war information and, of course, criticism, and a line to follow as to timing, proportion, content, theme, emotion and reason." p. 77.

Ettinger, Karl E., ed. "Public Relations Directory and Yearbook." Vol. I, 1945. N. Y: Public Relations Directory and Yearbook, Inc. 855pp.

In the "Editorial Section," ELB contributes a chapter entitled: "Public Relations Counsel Evolution of a Profession." This is an historical survey and analysis of the profession.

"Since 1900," ELB says, "there have been four periods of evolution in public relations as a profession in the United States. The first 1900-1914 was a battle between muckraking on the one hand and white-washing publicity efforts on the other. The second 1914-1918 was marked by an effort by our government to sell the American people our war aims and war ideals in World War I. The third 1919-1929 saw public relations activities in the industrial field developing, in part, from principles and practices successfully tested in the Great War. Since 1929, American public relations activities have been devoted mainly to efforts in commerce and industry, to bring about adjustment between private interest and public responsibility. These last two periods 1919 to date have brought forth public relations literature and periodicals, a strengthening of ethical standards, a broadening of scientific practice, a spread of academic study and research, and a general recognition of the importance of the new profession by the great social forces of our country."

ELB then traces the history of definitions of the term "profession." He quotes Crystallizing Public Opinion, which he published in 1923, and in which he defined the term "public relations counsel," which he had coined.

"The literature has expanded," he continues. "In 1928, our analysis, 'Propaganda The Public Mind in the Making' was published. Our organization for ten years issued 'Contact,' a four-page leaflet on public relations. In 1934, we were successful in instigating at Princeton University the publication of a bibliography, 'A Reference Guide to Public Opinion.' We assisted Princeton in the inauguration of the Public Opinion Quarterly. . . . In 1937, we surveyed public relations training at American universities and found that throughout the country there were many courses preparing men and women for this new profession. The findings were published in a pamphlet 'Universities Pathfinders of Public Opinion.' " [See page 9 of this bibliography].

After surveying the courses in public relations and

related subjects given at American universities, ELB quotes the definitions of "public relations" and "public relations counsellor" given in the Dictionary of Sociology, published in 1943. "Thus," ELB continues, "we see the principles set in 'Crystallizing Public Opinion' twenty years previously, and in 'Propaganda' five years thereafter continually being validated: groups and leaders are the basic mechanisms of public change ; groups and leaders can be reached through established media of communication, with the application of insight and method; and there is a definite ethical standard to guide the work. Public relations, engineering of consent, opinion management, the techniques of leadership, or whatever it may be called, has exerted a powerful influence on the world in every phase of activity. . . . The counsel on public relations continues to play an increasingly growing role in bringing about better adjustment of all the constituent groups of our society."

In his historical survey of public relations, ELB discusses the role of the muckrakers, Theodore Roosevelt, General Motors, General Electric, American Telephone & Telegraph, Light's Golden Jubilee which ELB handled and other high points in the development of the profession.

The chapter concludes with a list of books by ELB.

Friedrich, C. J., and Mason, Edward S., eds.

"Public Policy. A Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University." Cambridge, Mass: Graduate School of Public Administration, 1942. 275pp.

Part I, "War Morale and Civil Liberties," contains a chapter by ELB on "The Integration of Morale," pp. 18-32; "To achieve a continuously strong morale, we need physical and emotional well-being, a common goal, common leaders we can trust, and a belief in one another." Footnote reference in David Riesman's chapter on "Civil Liberties in Transition" to ELB's books *Crystallizing Public Opinion* and *Propaganda*, p. 82.

In this discussion of wartime morale, ELB calls for a threefold approach to make "America's morale . . . impregnable. . . . First, activities aimed at speaking up for democracy, defining, explaining, expounding what democracy is and is not; second,

activities aimed at strengthening democracy, making it work better, so that all may know what we are fighting for; third, a morale commission appointed by the government to give counsel and advice to men in the government so that they may function more democratically and more efficiently. . . . Our first real line of defense is in our minds. They can ensure that our arms shall defend what they were created to defend. ... A strong national morale is behavior which affects our national interest. . . . Group morale is the fusion of individual morales. . . . Certain basic premises underlie the building of a strong morale: (1) The American people have already committed themselves, their money and their manpower to the war effort. They have provided for the physical defenses. (2) Democratic leadership in government is called for to provide the psychological defenses that will fill the need for psychological and physical security." To build morale, ELB recommends democratic activities persuasion, suggestion, education, above all, truth.

Specifically ELB recommends: (1) The education of the public in the meanings and importance of democracy; (2) one centralized government authority to give out facts, to correlate and coordinate the activities of the many scattered information agencies this body to be headed by a technician in mass communications; (3) make democracy work better; (4) a master plan for public relations in morale building to be worked out "by technicians drawn from the fields of the social sciences, sociology, psychology, ethnology, adult education, economics, the army, the navy, public opinion, communications, public relations." ELB concludes: "To achieve a continuously strong morale, we need physical and emotional well-being, a common goal, common leaders we can trust, and a belief in one another."

Gaige, Crosby. "Dining with My Friends: Adventures with Epicures." N. Y: Crown Publishers, 1949. 292pp.

In a section "Edward L. Bernays" the author says: "On a buttered papyrus scroll from the Bernays kitchen come suggestions for a luncheon and a dinner with the recipes for cooking that great delicacy Crab Almondine, and for a rich and satisfying Dutch Apple Cake," p. 11. This is followed by two Bernays menus, one for luncheon, the other for dinner, with a recipe for each dish, pp. 12-13.

MacIver, R. M. ed. "Unity and Difference in American Life: A Publication of the Institute for Religious and Social Studies." N. Y: Harper and Brothers, 1947. 168pp.

"Series of addresses and discussions" at the Institute deals with Group Relations and what can be done to achieve better relations in America. Chapter X is ELB's address What Business Can Do, pp. 131-141. This is followed by a discussion in which ELB participates, pp. 141-142.

MacLatchy, Josephine H. "Education on the Air." Thirteenth Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio. Columbus, Ohio State University, 1942. 310pp.

Panel Discussion on "Radio in Wartime-Radio and Wartime Morale" conducted by ELB as presiding officer.

.. "Education on the Air." See Addenda,

Item 14.

Universities Pathfinders in Public Opinion.

In Collaboration with Doris E. Fleischman.

N. Y: Edward L. Bernays, 1937. 38pp.
A survey conducted by ELB and Doris E. Fleischman among university leaders "to ascertain broadly the scope of academic attention given to the subjects of public relations and opinion management." Comments are included from Harold D. Lasswell, Associate Professor of Political Science, Chicago University; Marjorie Nicholson, Dean of Smith College; Louis C. Boochever, Director, Department of Public Information, Cornell University and 31 other university leaders.

10 Eventful Years. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1947. 4 vols.

A record of events of the years preceding, including and following World War II 1937 through 1946

prepared under the editorial direction of Walter Yust, editor of the Encyclopedia Britannica. Article by ELB on "Public Relations" with bibliography, Vol. III, pp. 672-673. Article gives general description of public relations of the period, diversity of users, rise of publicists and publications. Acknowledgment under "Contributors with principal articles written by them":

"E.L.B's., Public Relations. Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations, New York, N. Y. Author of Crystallizing Public Opinion and Propaganda," Vol. I, p. viii

Writings by

EDWARD L. BERNAYS
In Periodicals

Advertising and Selling. "A Public Relations Counsel States His Views." Vol. 8, No. 7, Jan 26, 1927, pp. 31, 76.

ELB discusses the modern public relations counsel and /or propagandist, showing that he is not merely the old-time press agent who fed stories to the news papers, but a man whose work is related to that of every institution which communicates ideas to the public. The modern propagandist is more concerned with what his client is and does than with what he says; he sets ideas in motion and makes events which will move public thought. ELB differentiates between advertising and news, maintaining that news is news whether or not it advertises some product. He urges that all material submitted for publication should bear a mark of origin.

"The public relations counsel is continually creating events, changing and modifying acts, now adding some actualities to life, now subtracting others, to accomplish his ends and make the public receptive to his cause. In this work he must be

keenly alive to public consciousness." In discussing the relationship of news to advertising, Mr. Bernays says: "Most men who have discussed this whole

question have treated only of the press. . . . But in a sense the same relationship is true of all methods of reaching the public. . . . The acid test applied to it [news material] is its value to the reader of the particular journal as understood by the editor, who knows the policy, the aim, the ideals of his particular journal. On this test only must it ride or fall."

"What Future for Radio Advertising?"

Feb 8, 1928.

ELB says: "Advertising revenues have made the press powerful and economical, and have made it able to present the news without bias or prejudice. Aside from any other consideration, the press should allow nothing to interfere with the advertising revenue that it gets as a safeguard in protecting its independence. Is not the surest way to insure this freedom the linking up with the ever-growing and spreading radio by harnessing it to the press and making it a source of revenue to itself as well as a source of news and advertising to the public?"

_. "Molding Public Opinion." See Ad

denda, Item 1.

American City. "Better Government Through P.R."

Vol. LXII, No. 3, Mar 1947, pp. 79-80.

ELB says: "The American city today is a complex social-economic pattern for achieving the aims of a democratic society. It strives to increase the general welfare of its citizens through public health, safety, legal security, education and the other factors of wholesome, efficient living. Not so long ago municipal government was largely a system of politics, spoils, and patronage. Today the city is the combined progress of all its citizens" ELB discusses the need for New Concepts of Democratic Leadership, Determining Objectives, Importance of Timing, and Planned Events and Research, in reference to the city's "important public-relations responsibility." He says: "A public relations program for a city has a triple function. It must throw a clear light on the government's activities in order to be of value to the government itself. It must interpret the government's aims to the people to secure their interest and action. And, lastly, it must interpret the public

needs and desires to the government . . . [but] whatever the goals, the public relations program must base its efforts on favorable actions of government itself. What the government does, not what it says, is the important factor in success. . . . Isolated events and sporadic publicity are of little value. A good public relations program for city government demands continuous effort to keep in contact with the public. Underlying this public relations program must be continuous and careful research of the actual functioning of the city. If the leaders do not keep their house in order, no public relations program will protect them from the possibility of unfavorable notice and attack. Any municipal public relations program must be based on activities that are in the public interest. . . ." As "helpful . . . guides to

effective public relations planning, strategy, and techniques," ELB also recommends "two bibliographies ... one published by the University of Minnesota Press, the other by ... Princeton University Press. ..."

American Journal of Nursing. "The Nursing Profession A Public Relations Viewpoint." Vol. 45, No. 5, May 1945. pp. 351-353. Editorial note: "Mr. Bernays is a very well known public relations specialist, described by Time magazine as U. S. Publicist No. 1, who has solved public relations problems for corporations, philanthropists, institutions, industrial organizations, and individuals. He is on the National Public Relations Committee of the American Red Cross and worked with the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care."

ELB says: "I can think of no better advice to give than to suggest that you look at yourselves and apply your own scientific attitude to a consideration of your problem of adjustment with the public, then to find out why the public reacts to you as it does, and then to take the action required on your own reorientation, and a reorientation of your public."

"The Medical Profession and Nursing."

Vol. 45, No. 11, Nov 1945, pp. 907-914. After describing the effects of World War II on the health field and the professions of nursing and medicine, ELB reports on a survey he made among civilian doctors and leading medical authorities based

on a questionnaire which included the following:

(1) What effect do doctors think the war has had on medical-nursing relationships and on nursing skills?

(2) What maladjustments exist between these two professions? (3) What do doctors favor as regards use of practical nurses; and more extensive use of professional nurses through the Social Security Act or other federal legislation, and through voluntary payment plans? ELB gives in considerable detail the replies, comments and recommendations of physicians regarding the nursing profession and the relations between doctors and nurses. He concludes: "(1) Evidently physicians think well of nurses when they think of them at all. But the unfortunate fact is that the medical profession takes the nursing profession too much for granted. The nurses must act to correct this. They must tell the medical profession what they are doing, how they are doing it, and why. The nursing profession must carry on educational activities aimed at the physician, as an individual and in groups. (2) Maladjustments between the professions seem to be due to misunderstanding as well as to the basic situation. There is much nurses can accomplish by being co-operative and understanding. Most important, of course, is the economic factor. Nurses' salaries are too small for their needs. . . . Yet they are too great for the public to stand. Nurses, doctors and public must agree on the best way to handle medical care in the United States. Nurses, as individuals and through their organizations, should study all proposals, legislative or otherwise, which affect the medical care of the American people, and act vigorously to support those in the public interest.

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. . . Good health for the American people is the aim of both medical and nursing professions and the professions must cooperate effectively toward this end."

"Opinion Holders Appraise Nursing"

Vol. 45, No. 12, Dec 1945. pp. 1005-1011.

In this article, ELB reports the results of a survey he conducted among "newspaper and magazine editors, radio commentators, news photographers, cartoon

ists, columnists, authors, radio script writers, book publishers, lecturers, artists and illustrators, outstanding opinion molders in other fields," to determine what they think of the nursing profession. Summarizing their opinions, ELB says: (1) A great majority of Americans have a very high regard for the women performing nursing services; they pay great tribute to the war effort of the nursing profession; most of the opinion molders believe there is great room for improvement in the performance of nurses in present-day hospitals and private practice, particularly in public health and industrial nursing.

(2) In the economic sphere the public opinion molders believe the cost of nursing is too high; most of them have not thought out the problem of how it is to be lowered ; a minority is aware the answer lies in a change of the present methods of distributing and paying for nursing services. (3) The largest group of criticisms of the nursing profession is that aimed at the high cost of nursing services; a smaller number are directed at the personality faults of some nurses, such as lack of human sympathy, laziness, etc.; nursing education is also criticized. (4) Recommendations of the opinion leaders strongly emphasize the need of a public relations program for professional nurses and of greater psychological understanding of patients by nurses; many public opinion molders stress the need for economic adjustments in salaries, nursing costs and system of payment and distribution.

ELB describes the method of survey, gives line of questions asked, quotes typical replies in various categories and breaks down the replies by percentages.

"What Government Officials Think about

Nursing. 1 ' Vol. 46, No. 1, Jan 1946. pp. 22-26.
ELB reports on the survey he conducted "to learn the attitudes of public officials toward the nursing profession, past, present and future." His questionnaire was sent to "a cross-section of the men and women in federal, state and city administrations throughout the country." Results of the nationwide study "were checked against personal interviews with government officials." Summarizing his findings, ELB says that federal, state and city officials think: (1) Nurses made an excellent contribution to the war effort; (2) the quality of work performed by professional nurses is good in public health work, private

hospitals and other institutions, and in private practice, but somewhat less desirable in public hospitals;

(3) through public relations activities the nursing profession should educate the public and government officials about nurse training, the services nurses are performing, etc. ; (4) nursing salaries should be raised,

nursing education improved, nursing costs lowered;

(5) government should provide more funds toward nursing education and for training practical nurses;

(6) the Social Security Act should apply to wider groups of professional and practical nurses, particularly to nurses engaged in public health and hospital practice; (7) nursing service provision should be included in voluntary prepayment plans for hospital and medical care.

"Hospitals and the Nursing Professions."

Vol. 46, No. 2, Feb 1946, pp. 110-113.

ELB reports on the nationwide survey he conducted among hospital administrators of all kinds in an effort to "measure present and future relations between the nursing profession and hospital administrators." The survey revealed the following major opinions of hospital administrators: (1) World War II tended to make worse the quality of civilian hospital nursing service, nursing education, and nursing skills and methods; (2) good personnel is scarce in staff nursing, administrators of nursing services, nursing teachers; (3) student nurses are often exploited by hospitals; (4) private duty nurses are a "luxury" commodity which costs too much and needs too much supervision; (5) the nurse's economic position should be improved by salary increases, but nursing trade unions should be discouraged; (6) Negro nurses should be used mainly in Negro institutions; (7) hospital personnel policies need drastic revision, since they cause difficulty between hospital heads and staff nurses; (8) nursing leaders should do more on behalf of their membership; (9) nurse placement services work fairly well on the whole; (10) the patient's welfare should be the first consideration in all decisions made on hospital administration.

ELB gives the questions he asked hospital administrators and breaks down their replies on a per

centage basis. He suggests that "public relations activities devoted frankly to this end would go a long way to remove barriers which now prevent the nursing profession and hospital administrations from working together in the best interests of themselves and the public they serve."

"The Armed Services and the Nursing Profession" Vol. 46, No. 3, Mar 1946. pp. 166-169.

ELB reports on a survey he made to ascertain what World War II veterans from all services thought of the nursing profession. The questionnaire was sent to a cross section of Army and Navy officers and enlisted men, both in service and already returned to civilian life; to officials of the Veterans Administration; to veterans of the Army and Navy Nurse Corps. Giving the replies which the survey elicited, ELB breaks them down by percentages, and sums them up as follows: (1) Overwhelmingly America's fighting men and women believe the nursing profession made a great contribution to victory in World War II, and the average war nurse performed her duties well; (2) among problems between professional nurses and other members of the armed forces the replies cited rank, personality faults, complaints against army regulations restricting nurses, etc.;

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(3) suggestions for improvements in nursing education included better training in psychology and psychosomatic medicine; greater emphasis on cultural subjects in nurse training; higher standards in the professional nursing skills, etc; (4) a wider use of men nurses was favored; ELB also quotes a number of suggestions made by respondents for improving relations between nurses and various groups with which they come in contact, as well as comments on whether the Army and Navy Nurse Corps should be reconstituted so as to include enlisted personnel and non-commissioned officers.

In conclusion, ELB recommends that nurses "intensify and utilize" the "huge reservoir of good will toward the nursing profession which has been built up among millions of war veterans. . . . Nurses should, individually and through their organizations, participate in activities to promote the welfare of

needy, unfortunate, disabled and sick veterans. The nursing profession can take a leading position in strengthening and improving the operation of the Veterans Administration, in seeing that it meets the needs of the many millions of Americans who will be dependent on it in one way or another, for financial, vocational or other assistance. In doing this, the nursing profession will be advancing its own interest and performing a valuable public service."

" Nurses and Their Professional Organizations" Vol. 46, No. 4, Apr 1946. pp. 229-233.

To ascertain how nurses feel about professional organizations as to scope, efficiency and policies, past, present and future, ELB conducted a survey of the nursing profession. In this article he gives his questionnaire and breaks down the replies by percentages. Survey revealed that nurses are "joiners," that most of them are active in their professional organizations and read nursing publications. Most of them said relations between nurses and their professional organizations could be improved, suggesting ways of doing this. ELB also quotes replies on trade unions, economic improvement, Negro nurses, men nurses, practical nurses, etc.

From the survey, ELB concludes that "serious gaps exist in the relationships of nurses with their professional organizations." To bridge this gap, he suggests "reorienting member nurses from the concept of 'belonging' to the concept of leadership." To ward this end he recommends "that (1) national groups should re-examine their structures and achieve greater coordination between and within major groups; (2) as individuals, nurses can train themselves for leadership as they trained themselves for their profession."

" Nursing and Community Groups." Vol.

46, No. 5. May 1946. pp. 297-300.

To learn community group opinions about nursing, ELB sent out questionnaires to a cross section of group leaders throughout the country. Responses came from officers of youth groups; school, college and educational groups; patriotic, political, social and civic groups; women's groups; religious groups; and foreign language groups. Analyzing these replies,

ELB reports their "composite answer"; e.g., nurs

ing's contribution to victory in World War II was impressive and exemplary; public health nursing agencies are the most "liberal" branch of the profession; most graduate nurses work cooperatively with other community groups; nursing costs are too high; nurses could use a better general education; etc. After giving replies in detail and breaking them down by percentages, ELB concludes: "The voluntary membership organizations of the United States, large and small, can become powerful lay supporters of the nursing profession's desire for more effective integration into the broad pattern of social action in the United States. . . . The good will that exists in this group has little depth, and little foundation in knowledge upon which to rest. . . . The only safeguard is to keep this public and other publics informed of what nursing is doing, what it intends to do, and what are its reasons. This, too, indicates the importance of supplying facts and points of view for whatever changes the nursing profession believes are essential to the public welfare and its own progress. Certainly these important groups of the public can help to further sound, common goals in the public interest but only if public relations activities are aimed to intensify and broaden the existing good will."

"Educators Appraise Nursing." Vol. 46,

No. 6, Jun 1946, pp. 372-375.

ELB discusses the problem of recruiting of nurses and the influence of educators in grade schools, high schools and colleges on decisions regarding careers, based on a survey of a nationwide cross-section of the teaching profession.

"Nurses and Business." Vol. 46, No. 7,

Jul 1946. pp. 475-477.

ELB reports the findings of his nationwide survey among American business leaders to ascertain their opinions about nursing. Breaking down replies by percentages, he says the survey shows that "leaders of commerce and industry respect nursing as a profession in theory; in practice, they don't." The majority of businessmen thought hospitals and other institutions caring for the public's health should deal with nurses the way a business firm deals with its employees; that nurses receive sufficient pay now; that the costs of nursing are not too high. However,

they urged action for bettering nurses' conditions through professional nursing organizations, and increased voluntary support of hospitals.

Most businessmen also thought relations between the business community and the nursing profession could be improved. Suggestions: (1) Educate the businessman through hard-hitting, more extensive public relations programs on every professional level; (2) educate the nurse to participate in community affairs; (3) raise educational and professional standards of nurses. "What we must do," ELB concludes, "is to make the businessman realize that he will not get the type of service that he desires unless he helps to improve the status of the entire profession."

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"Social Scientists Look at the Nursing Profession." Vol. 46, No. 8, Aug 1946. pp. 518-520. ELB here reports on a survey he made among social scientists at Yale, Wisconsin, Columbia, Chicago and other colleges and universities on the question: "What can the nursing profession do to reconcile the contradictions which now prevent fulfillment of its goal of service to American society?"

"Summed up," ELB says, "(1) They stress the vital need for professional recognition; (2) almost unanimously, they urge that the nurse's economic status be improved; (3) they want standards of education and research in nursing raised; (4) they advocate that particular care be used in selecting the type of individuals for the nursing profession, stressing the factor of personality with emphasis on the need of warm, sympathetic characteristics and a more spiritual outlook; (5) they recommend to the nursing profession that it organize for broad public health activities, to win the support of the public; (6) they would like to see the relationship between doctors and nurses denuded and improved, with the aim of offering the very best health service for the American people. To accomplish these goals, they urge the nursing profession to educate the American people on what nursing can do, and what the public must do to get the service it wants. A public relations program is their answer."

"America Looks at Nursing A Summation." Vol. 46, No. 9, Sept 1946. pp. 590-592.
Editorial note: "About a year ago Mr. Bernays, public relations consultant, undertook to make a series of investigations into what different groups of people think about nursing. Results of his studies have been presented each month in the Journal since November 1945. The present article summarizes the series." ELB concludes this article by urging nurses to appraise their profession, and to inform the public about their services, problems, etc.

"What Patients Say about Nurses." Vol.

47, No. 2, Feb 1947. pp. 93-96.

ELB reports on a survey he made among ex-patients to determine what they think about nurses and nursing. His questionnaire was sent to a group selected from Who's Who in America and to members of the Blue Cross hospitalization plan in Boston, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Allentown, Pennsylvania and Rockford, 111. Most patients were pleased with their nurses and the nursing service they received, but there were also complaints and "intelligent criticism." Most patients also thought nurses should receive better pay. After breaking down all the replies by percentage, ELB concludes: "The majority of laymen, ex-patients, the general public . . . just don't have very much understanding of the crux of the nursing problem. The problem ... is the satisfactory adjustment of the conflict between her (the nurse's) traditional role as a self-sacrificing servant of mankind, and her need for professional status and adequate pay." He urges that nurses undertake "a public relations campaign to educate the public ... to a clearer understanding of the nursing profession's dilemma."

.. "A Better Deal for Nurses." Nov 1947.

ELB says the nursing profession can achieve its aims "through enlisting the understanding and support of social groups."

ELB advises the nursing profession that in order to establish recognition for their services and in order to maintain better economic security, they must be made aware of the influence of public opinion and

"of broader social forces than the nursing profession itself." They must be aware of the interrelation between many social groups working together and the need to arouse these groups to an understanding of the problems of the nursing profession. "In our highly complicated society, no one special interest or group, whether teachers, preachers, doctors, lawyers, or nurses, dictates or governs its own destiny. Every section of our population depends upon other groups, and no individual group is sufficiently powerful or influential to bring about its desires independently and without the support of others."

The nursing profession surely has problems. They must not be seen as a whole in themselves but in relation to the larger problems of society, problems that can be understood and resolved by "cooperation, adjustment, of a meeting of minds, of reaching a common understanding and recognition of the problems of others . . ."

Since change and growth is based upon a sense of the need for development, and since change never moves at the same pace for every phase or for every organization, the nursing profession must learn "to enlist the aid of other social forces in society forces that are more potent, that have more status than nursing to work with them toward the common over-all goal of better nursing care for the American public with concomitantly better conditions for herself."

The nurse must be more scientific in her approach to other professional groups for support; she must exercise less emotion, and must utilize public opinion more skillfully in behalf of an improvement in professional status and economic stability.

American Journal of Sociology. "Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and the How." Vol. XXXIII, No. 6, May 1928. pp. 958-971.

An editorial abstract preceding this article by ELB outlines its main ideas as follows: "Public opinion, narrowly defined, is the thought of a society at a given time toward a given object; broadly conceived, it is the power of the group to sway the larger public in its attitude. Public opinion can be manipulated, but in teaching the public how to ask for what it wants the manipulator is safeguarding the public against its own possible aggressiveness. The method of the experimental psychologist is not as effective in the study of public opinion in the broad

sense as is that of introspective psychology. To create and to change public opinion it is necessary to understand human motives, to know what special interests are represented by a given population, and to realize the function and limitations of the physical organs of approach to the public, such as the radio,

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the platform, the movie, the letter, the newspaper, etc. If the general principles of swaying public opinion are understood, a technique can be developed which, with the correct appraisal of the specific problem and the specific audience, can and has been used effectively in such widely different situations as changing the attitude of whites toward Negroes in America, changing the buying habits of American women from felt hats to velvet, silk, and straw hats, changing the impression which the American electorate has of its President, introducing new musical instruments, and a variety of others. Group adherence is essential in changing the attitudes of the public. Authoritative and influential groups may become important channels of reaching the larger public. Ideas and situations must be made impressive and dramatic in order to overcome the inertia of established traditions and prejudices." p. 958.

American Mercury. "Group Leaders of Democracy."

Vol. XLIV, No. 176, Aug 1938, pp. 437, 444.

Discussion of the importance of winning over the leaders who play an important part in determining the attitudes and actions of the masses in democracy, to the task of awakening in the people an understanding of the values of political and industrial democracy.

After pointing out the threats to democracy from all over the world, and showing how American interest in democracy has increased in the last ten years, ELB continues: "How, then, can we attempt to preserve Democracy? How can we safeguard both our basic political and social system and the private enterprise tied up with it? We shall attempt to lay out the approach. ... In a Democracy, you must have the voluntary support of the people in order to succeed. . . . How can we develop and maintain among the people a true recognition of the values of Democracy, combined with a dynamic will to defend

and preserve it? The people will be ready to value and defend Democracy, or any other sound ideas, if those whom they follow and look up to have first been brought to recognize its validity. ... If you can demonstrate to the men and women in the vanguard of our society that your product or your idea is sound and serves the public interest, your battle is more than half won. There are two ways to gain public support. On the one hand, facts or ideas or a viewpoint can be presented to the masses directly, as is done daily on billboards, over the radio, through advertisements in the daily press, or even by means of sky writing. Another way is to take your message to the group leaders, win their support, and let them carry the message to the mass of the people to prepare them for the mass-appeal which may follow this group-leader acceptance. . . . The importance of group leaders as a channel for ideas in the Democracy has not been generally recognized. But group-patterns do exist, and should be utilized for drawing society closer together for common ends. . . . Democratic society is made up of an almost infinite number of interest groups, whose leaders command the respect of the group, whose opinions and actions

carry weight and influence. . . . Men turn for guidance to the leaders of groups of which they are members. This sound principle of group leadership holds in advertising as it does in every other special-pleading activity. . . . The preservation of our political and industrial Democracy depends on our ability to awaken in our people an understanding of the values of political as well as industrial Democracy. This task must be met by finding and winning over the leaders who play such an important part in determining the attitudes and actions of the masses in the Democracy."

"Preview of American Public Opinion."

Vol. LVIII, No. 243, Mar 1944. pp. 340-345.

Based on a nationwide survey conducted by ELB which attempted to "estimate what American public opinion and American action will be in the next six months or so." The survey "indicates clearly that we shall be in agreement as to what are the main issues facing the country, and almost unanimous in the determination to solve them along democratic lines."

This survey is a departure in opinion polls in that it is a serious attempt to determine public opinion on the immediate future instead of tracing trends in mass opinion and mass preference by comparing existing popular attitudes with past attitudes. The survey was conducted keeping two points in mind: "(1) What would be likely to emerge as the chief issues of popular interest in the near future, and (2) what would be the prevailing view and action on each of these subjects." Instead of addressing the attitudes of a cross section of the entire population, this survey was directed at a cross section of group leaders. "By ascertaining what those who mold public opinion believe now, we have a reliable preview of what public opinion and action will be later." The poll reached the men and women who in turn contact millions of minds with direct or indirect influence daily. The survey disclosed five major issues prevalent in the public mind in the order of their importance:

- "1. Winning the war;
2. The cost of living;
3. International cooperation;
4. Race relations; and
5. Labor relations."

The people were also concerned with three other issues:

- "1. The 1944 elections;
2. The trend of the Federal government; and
3. Demobilization."

Through this survey it was determined what coming public opinion would be.

"A Mercury Survey of Opinion Leaders"

Vol. LX, No. 254, Feb 1945, pp. 198, 203.

A survey by ELB of public opinion on major current issues and post-war problems. "In a preview of American public opinion, published in the March 1944 American Mercury, I attempted by querying representative group leaders and opinion-molders throughout the country to evaluate the trends of

public opinion and action in the following six months; and to interpret and project them into the future.

. . . The results of our survey proved to be remarkably accurate. Public opinion and events took place according to expectation. I have completed a new survey to try to forecast public opinion on major issues, arising out of present events and in some cases to forecast events themselves. This article give in broad outline the results of our latest survey.

"Here are the conclusions to be drawn from this study: The American people will join a postwar union of nations; with victory, America and her Allies will occupy a conquered Germany and Japan until they become economically sound and politically democratic; America believes it will not enter an other war until at least twenty- five years from now; Americans think that Presidential tenure should be limited by law; postwar taxes should be levied on all income groups, and distributed proportionately; wartime controls should be continued in the postwar period, primarily on necessary goods, through minimum wage laws, and wage ceilings; reconversion should be handled by both government and private industry, and not by government alone. In the light of current political, economic, and social trends, the United States will move in the next ten years towards a mixed economy, increasing cooperative interest and control by both government and private industry. The people will demand a law requiring confirmation of treaties by a majority vote of both houses of Congress. We will have compulsory military training for young men after the war but on the question of a national service of men and women a forecast is difficult because we are divided."

Apparel Arts. "Prophets and Profits ..." Vol.

VII, No. 4, Apr-May 1937. pp. 138-139.

Editorial note: "Edward L. Bernays, whose appraisal of the apparel industry's problems is presented here, has very aptly been termed one of the nation's leading publicists. He has acted as counsel on public relations to many of the nation's outstanding industries and industrial organizations and has helped to shape policies which have brought them into the forefront of favorable public attention. His services have been retained not only by important groups in America

and Europe, but also by our own government and other public bodies. Mr. Bernays' books on the subject of public relations, 'Crystallizing Public Opinion' and 'Propaganda,' are textbooks in various universities and he is in demand by colleges and economic organizations to discuss his profession, which he was instrumental in founding."

In this article, ELB says that the development of the men's apparel business in America will depend upon an adherence to the principle that "the public interest and the private interest must coincide." He adds: "The more the public knows about its interest in the business, the better for the business. The recognition in action of this principle by all should be a dynamic factor in creating more good will and more profit."

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Association News: "Publicity in International Trade. How Public Opinion Was Influenced by the United States during the War." Published by the American Manufacturers Export Association. Vol. 1, No. 24, Apr 1920. pp. 1-5.

Editor's Note: "Edward L. Bernays has a record of achievement in domestic and international publicity which makes his statements on this subject authoritative. As head of the Export Section of the Committee on Public Information, a department which he created and organized personally, he established wide contacts with foreign merchants and the foreign press in every important country in South America, Europe and the East. The methods which he discusses in this article are those which he applied with notable success during the war to selling political and commercial good-will for America throughout the world. He has had uniquely varied experience in the field of publicity, his activities ranging from American advisor to foreign governments to special advisor in various capacities to departments of our own government."

In this article, ELB describes the techniques he used as chief of the Export Section of the Committee on Public Information. These consisted of (1) organizing the American exporters into "such a medium of distribution for political information that no field of approach to the foreign markets and to foreign opinion was left untouched by the ideas we wished

to sell them"; (2) the use on all printed matter that left an American firm for a foreign country of some slogan illustrating America's purpose; (3) supplying travelling salesmen with photos and other material graphically illustrating America's advance developments; (4) commercial advertisements in foreign dailies containing educational matter as well; (5) the distribution with every bit of mail which left the United States for foreign countries of short fillers in a number of languages; these fillers explained America's purposes in entering the war, the ends it hoped to attain, the methods for attaining them: leading manufacturers and exporters enclosed this material in their foreign correspondence ; (6) cooperation with Film Division of the Committee in the preparation and distribution of motion pictures in allied and neutral countries; (7) insertion of editorial matter in catalogues; etc., etc.

ELB points out that no part of this "great experiment" of selling America to the world has survived. "No effort is being made either by the government, by associations of manufacturers and exporters, or by individual business men to take advantage of a golden opportunity for obtaining a position of proud pre-eminence in almost every export market." ELB suggests "the building up of a background of public interest in the particular venture here in the United States"; the expansion of this campaign abroad "by experts who are competent to see to it that it is properly prepared in the different languages and that it reaches the proper media of distribution abroad" via foreign correspondents, news services, syndicates, photo agencies and important foreign news papers.

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Best Magazine Articles of the Year. "Why We Behave Like Inhuman Beings." Selected by the Leading Editors of the Nation. 1949. pp. 70-73.

Condensation of Household article. See Household, below.

Bookman. "The Minority Rules." Apr 1927.
ELB said: "In the active proselytizing minorities in whom personal and public interests necessarily coincide lie in the progress and development of America.

Only through the active energy of the intelligent few can the public at large become aware of and act upon new ideas, usually good, occasionally bad."

Congressional Record. "Why We Behave Like Inhuman Beings." Vol. 95, No. 60, Apr 8, 1949, pp. A2222-A2224.

This article originally published by Household, is reprinted in Congressional Record as extension of remarks of Hon. Albert M. Cole, of Kansas in the House of Representatives. See Household, below.

. " Your Public Relations in the National

Emergency." Vol. 97, No. 24, Feb. 7, 1951. Appendix, p. A678. See Addenda, Item 9.

Connecting Link. From the Office of Edward L.

Bernays. No. 4. Jul 29, 1922. 4pp.

Brochure: "Issued occasionally by the office of the Public Relations Counsel of the Hotel Association of New York City in the interests of furthering the common cause of better public relations. . . . Each recipient of this number of 'The Connecting Link' is receiving with it a page of the 'New York Tribune' of July 2nd. This article reflects in a humorous way some of the activities the Welcome Stranger Committee has set for itself. ... The activities of the Welcome Stranger Committee are well under way. Steps are being taken to reflect New York as it really is to the country and to build up good will and business for this city. . . . Editorials and editorial comments on the Welcome Stranger Movement were printed in newspapers throughout the country."

Contact. "Putting Politics on the Market." No. 31. This article by ELB, which appeared in The Independent see below is reprinted in Contact, a four-page magazine "published periodically" in New York by "Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations," who was also its editor. Contact was published from 1922 to 1934 in numbers 1 through 43, but was undated, and carried no volume number. Devoted to the field of public relations, the magazine was mailed free to group leaders and opinion moulders throughout the United States.

Coronet. "Why We Behave Like Inhuman Beings." Vol. 27, No. 4, Whole No. 160. Feb 1950, pp. 126-130.

For contents of this article see Household.

Current Controversy. "The Public Mouthpiece: A New Cabinet Officer, Secretary of Public Relations, Is Suggested as a Safeguard of Democracy" Nov 1935, pp. 28, 40.

ELB says: "The safeguarding of democracy in

America today and for the future demands that there be in the Cabinet of the United States a Secretary of Public Relations whose duty it would be to serve the American people as a liaison officer between them and their government. The proposal is made to meet the need of the American people for some unbiased channel through which the President of the United States would learn of the changing wishes of the people, and of the actual effect of his government policies in the factories, mills, offices and homes of the land. In this way, there would be in the cabinet, serving the public interest, a responsible executive officer to interpret the people to the Administration, and the Administration to the great mass of the people."

ELB emphasizes that the proposed Secretary of Public Relations would function solely with the executive branch of the government the President, Cabinet members, departments, and would in no way be connected with Congress or the judiciary. He would be neither a propagandist nor a censor; his function would be solely that of "explanation and interpretation." He would direct the various public relations activities of the executive branch of the government and would "examine all statements of policy before they were made public to guard against possible contradictions or inconsistencies."

Current History and Forum. See Addenda, Item 11.

Delineator. "A Challenge to Women's Clubs." Nov 1928, pp. 14, 83-84, 86.

Editorial note: "Here is a clear and forceful plan of battle for all who desire to better their own communities."

In this article ELB tells how women, organized in groups, are using the new tool of propaganda to mold public opinion on questions of education, better government, and many industries. Showing how public opinion is crystallized into desired action, ELB says that women's clubs must be effectively organized, that they must have clear objectives, that they should consult experts in public opinion who will make opinion surveys for them, that the cooperation of national and local societies can and should be obtained. After the objective has been clearly determined, the women's clubs must know, classify and analyze "the public through whose cooperation the battle is to be won." The problem is "to discover exactly what the dominant groups in the community feel towards the proposed change, and on what basis a realignment of these groups can be brought about in favor of the proposed measure. . . . Our next problem is to find a series of common denominators of interest between ourselves and these groups we are trying to align with us." Once the strategy of attack is decided upon and the basic motivations to be played upon are clear, the battle begins. Here action is guided by specific conditions; if the enemy is the local legislature, one method is required, if an official, another method. The leaders of the women's clubs rouse the community to action through mass media of communication the news-

paper, the picture, the movies, etc. Events are organized to create news. Appeals are made to reason and the emotions. ELB then discusses techniques of mobilizing public opinion, including the role of a sponsoring committee of community leaders, press releases, letter campaigns, meetings, parades, etc.

Eastern Underwriter. "The Great American Attack Racket." Fortieth Year, No. 40, Oct 6, 1939, p. 50.

ELB indicates the public relations counter-offensive by which the insurance business can meet attacks. "This counter-offensive should define for insurance and for the people what the private interest and public responsibility of insurance companies are and should be. These definitions should become the guide posts of policy and action for the insurance companies. And with these as a basis, insurance should be able to build up for itself an impregnable position in the American economic pattern."

Economic Forum. "How to Restore Public Confidence in Business and Finance." Winter 1936, pp. 273-283.

A four-point program of action "to teach the public that it needs modern business and financial institutions, and cannot get along without them, in what ever set-up there is."

The four steps are: (1) The public will accept the need for modern business and financial institutions if men they believe in as symbols "become spokesmen for business and finance"; these spokesmen should be people "who have no personal axe to grind, who have no private profit to gain, who are interested in attempting to solve the problems that confront our American system. . . . Publicists, economists, leaders in research, the heads of great educational institutions can and should be made human symbols to bring new faith and new strength to business and finance"; (2) "The second approach is one of public education. . . . Words expressing the entire function and nature of business and financial institutions must be re-defined and re-clarified so that every member of the public will have a clear idea of the value of the word symbols that go to make up business and finance. . . . Every medium that reaches the public must carry these ideas to the public. Such public education cannot be accused of self-interest, for the public interest and an intelligent knowledge and understanding of business and finance, and their place in our society, are one . . . "; (3) "The third approach to the problem is to re-establish business men and financiers in the public mind by the very activities in which they engage. This can be done by letting them, through their deeds, again assume the position in the community which they used to occupy. The businessman and the banker must again become the public-spirited citizen, symbol of pro bono publico"; (4) ". . . financial institutions and business generally must offer a fair and honest service to the public. They must recognize that their most vital relationship is with the public, and that the service or product which they offer to the public must con-

opinion."

"Growth of a Sound Idea; Public Relations

and American Industry." N. Y. 1936. 42pp.

Editorial note: "The reaction of national leaders in many walks of life to an article which appeared in a recent issue of 'Economic Forum' . . . proved to be so interesting that the Editor decided to prepare this brochure as a significant indication of the growth and development of a sound idea."

In the section entitled "The Idea," an editorial note says: "Realizing the necessity of rebuilding confidence as the fundamental first step in a program that will explain that it is by the business of abundant production of goods and services, and not by recrimination, that America achieved its economic greatness, the Editors of 'Economic Forum,' ever alert to interpret the ideas upon which America's economic progress depends, decided to devote the major attention of a recent issue of 'Economic Forum' to an examination of the public relations of business and finance. To present this subject accurately, completely, and authoritatively, the Editors elicited the opinions of business leaders, attended conventions of industry and finance, sought out the best authorities on the subject, published their findings and editorial opinions in a special public relations issue. For a feature article on this subject they requested America's leading expert on public relations, Mr. Edward L. Bernays, to tell 'How to Restore Public Confidence in Business and Finance.' "

In the section entitled "The Author," an editorial note says: "In asking Mr. Edward L. Bernays to write for 'Economic Forum' on this important subject, the Editors selected America's foremost counsel on public relations. . . . We find Mr. Bernays' comments important because the application of his ideas to business situations is intensely practical. He has proved the importance of public relations counsel in industries as diverse as textile, soap, automobile, piano, radio, luggage, oil, and refrigerator manufacturing, in educational movements, in political, governmental and scientific problems. Readers will remember his handling of Light's Golden Jubilee, in which Thomas A. Edison, Henry Ford and other leaders participated. Because of this wealth of experience the Editors of 'Economic Forum' feel that Mr. Bernays' ideas, applied to the present situation, are extremely practical, valuable and important."

English Quarterly. "language of Live Men," Vol. I,

No. 3. Oscar H. Fedell, Ed., Theodore Roosevelt High School, 500 East Fordham Road, N. Y. 58, N. Y: pp. 11-13.

Editorial note preceding article says: "Edward L. Bernays is one of America's outstanding counsellors on public relations, TIME magazine once having called him 'U. S. Publicist No. 1'. . . , He has been adviser to Presidents and has represented our government in numerous activities. In between times he has become the author of 'Propaganda,' 'Crystallizing Public Opinion,' 'Speak Up for Democracy,' and 'Take Your Place at the Peace Table.' "

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ELB's article discusses the need of an understanding of language in a democracy and stresses importance of the teaching of English in our schools. He says: "At this point in the twentieth century crisis, language assumes a primary role. If the great mass of the global public is to understand what is really going on, then the experts who undertake to explain it all, and the millions who eagerly listen for guidance, must both be trained in the precise use of words. Everywhere, however, the power of stimulating a desired attitude or course of action is closely connected with the power to use words precisely. Since in this country the words are English, great responsibility, opportunity and privilege rest upon our English teachers."

Financial Diary. "Public Relations in Business,"

Vol. II, No. 3. Apr 1930, pp. 4-6.

ELB says: "Since every corporation engaged in business must depend upon the public for its support and its success, it is important that every public contact be consistent with company policy and that company policy be based on sound understanding of the public. Need for skill and experience in directing and supervising these public contacts has developed a new profession public relations counsel. . . . The new profession provides new help for organizations trying to solve the ever more perplexing and complicated problems of reaching company objectives more good will, more business, more profits. Its techniques, intelligently handled, is applicable to every company which deals with and depends upon others for its corporate existence."

ELB then reviews various factors which condition the behavior of the buying public and how public relations can influence that behavior. "Let us inquire how a public relations policy is formulated and developed in the case of a railroad, for instance. What are the points of contact of a railroad with the public and how can they best be directed to produce the best result? What is the product a railroad sells and how can it be presented to the public so that the greatest receptivity will be produced for that product? What channels are available, in addition, to those normally used, such as advertising, to convey the railroad and what it stands for, to the public? . . . How can business hear what the public has to say? How can it modify its actions to conform to the public's desires? How can it speak to the public in a language the public understands and appreciates? The modern way is through the services of an expert in public opinion. . . . It is the function of the public relations man to help two partners business and the public to understand each other and to supplement each other so that the business may develop to the advantage of both."

Financial World. "A Challenge to Business Business Must Sell Itself to the Public." Vol. LXVI, No. 19, Nov 4, 1936. pp. 453-454.

Editorial note: "An expert in 'selling ideas to the public,' the author sees that the big job for business today is to make the American people realize the part business plays in the American system."

For business to sell itself to the public, to preserve the American system and to preserve itself, ELB says, three steps are indicated: 1. The leaders in America's economic fields must recognize that the problem exists; 2. they must get together; 3. a program of public education must be decided upon which should reach the public through every channel of communication and in terms of the public's interest and understanding.

Forbes. "Your Business Has Many Publics." Vol.

57, No. 2, Jan 15, 1946, pp. 32-33.

In this article ELB discusses the opportunity of business executives to build a sound structure of public relations. Presenting briefly the steps to be followed in such a campaign, the article emphasizes

the identification of the publics of a business and what they think. "The first step of the business executive, in determining his relationship toward all these facets, is to study each public on which he impinges and find out what each group thinks of the attitudes and practices of his company. Next, he should study himself, his attitudes, his practices, his products and stack up his findings against the opinions of his various publics. He will then be able to isolate points of irritation and to develop further the existing areas of agreement. . . . When all points of dissatisfaction have been determined, the wise executive will then use all possible ingenuity to correct solutions that can be changed practicably. . . . Only after such changes are made is it possible to re-educate the public and create a new understanding of the goals and services of the company. . . . And indirectly, in many ways, the company can assume leadership in community or national affairs and dramatize its interest in the general public welfare."

Foreign Service. "Here's How to Speak Up for Democracy," Vol. 28, No. 4, Dec 1940, pp. 6-7, 46-48.

Condensation of ELB's book *Speak Up for Democracy*. See above.

Forum. "Are We Victims of Propaganda? A Debate by Everett Dean Martin and Edward L. Bernays." Vol. LXXXI, No. 3, Mar 1929. pp. 142-149. To the question implied in the title, "Are we victims of propaganda?", the editorial note answers: " Yes, says Mr. Martin. Propaganda is making puppets of us. We are moved by hidden springs which the propagandist manipulates. No, says Mr. Edward L. Bernays. The propagandist has developed a technique which minorities can employ equally well to break up majorities. Thus employed, propaganda becomes a powerful weapon against intolerance and the tyranny of the herd." This is in briefest summary of Mr. Martin's extended affirmative argument, "Our Invisible Masters," Mr. Bernays' negative, "Our Debt to Propaganda," and Mr. Martin's rebuttal. To Mr. Martin's position "Propaganda is not the same as public instruction. It is never disinterested information. . . . Even good ends may not justify the means commonly employed. . . . Furthermore, the identity of (propagandists) ... is

seldom disclosed and they are responsible to no one" Mr. Bernays replies, "Mr. Martin . . . voices the opinion of a section of the intelligent public which knows a little about propaganda, but . . . more about what propagandists against propaganda believe it to be. . . . Mr. Martin looks at the whole subject of propaganda much as a man who asked to write on the question, 'Are we victims of medicine?' would discuss only the fakers and quacks. ... It is my belief that propaganda serves a useful purpose. ... It tends to keep open an arena in public life in which the battle of truth may be fairly fought. . . ."

Forum and Century. "Does Propaganda Menace Democracy?" Vol. XCIX, No. 6, Jun 1938, pp. 341-342.

In this magazine debate with Ferdinand Lundberg, Edward L. Bernays upholds the worth of a "melting pot of ideas." He states: "The presentation of facts and points of view offers everyone a choice as to the course of action he may pursue. Here in America, freedom of opinion of propaganda exists. Under authoritarian regimes this is not true. Here many points of view are freely expressed. In authoritarian countries there is only one point of view permitted. And force and coercion implement this. Through the interplay, in a democracy, of discussion, argument, and persuasion, we are safeguarded. All groups and opinions thus have an opportunity to be heard. The public acceptance of new ideas, in medicine, in social service, in business, in political processes, has been brought about by public education, by propaganda. Propaganda is also an important tool in social change. Minority ideas become effective more quickly as a result of it."

Freedom & Union. "Put Your Idea into Action,"

Vol. 2, No. 9, Oct 1947, pp. 20-21.

Editorial note says: "Termed 'U. S. Publicist No. 1' by 'Time,' the author led in creating the profession of public relations which he still leads. No one is so qualified to tackle the problem of mass persuasion which Mr. Bernays discusses here."

ELB discusses the practical approaches to the problems of peace and tells how individuals can be effective in their efforts. He says: "America's vast system of communication is a powerful instrument for persuasion to action on behalf of democratic ideals."

... The public can be convinced of the soundness of an idea, and it can be stimulated to act on its convictions. If we are to achieve any sort of world amity, it will have to be based on an effective democracy in America a democracy in which the entire country participates."

The article begins, "The freedom to persuade and suggest is the essence of the democratic process. Communication is the instrument with which to engineer consent for social action." Here interpreting "engineering of consent" to mean "getting people to support ideas and programs through the application of scientific principles and methods ... (which) can be learned by anyone who will make the effort to study them ..." ELB also points out that while "scientific persuasion ... has contributed to

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the efficient functioning of society ... demagogues have misused the techniques for anti-democratic purposes (so that) ... public education must help us discriminate between subversive and constructive persuasion. ... Basic principles," he says, "include knowledge and careful planning, courage and conviction ... (with) four preliminary steps necessary to any program of effective action: 1. Appraise all resources ... ; 2. Understand the subject thoroughly ... ; 3. Determine your objective ... ; 4. Study the public ... group and group alignments. ... The matter of organization," he continues, "depends on two things: 1. Your own energy and effectiveness; 2. Your initial budget;" and, finally, "Events must be planned ... in such a way that they will accomplish two purposes: 1. They must symbolize the idea for which you stand; 2. They must be handled so dramatically that they will successfully compete for attention. ... The success of a program depends on the effectiveness with which it is communicated, and more than this, on the logic with which the entire program has been thought out and developed. ..."

House Furnishing Review. "How to Overcome

Depression Fears," Jun 1947, pp. 2-4.

ELB discusses the role of fear in inducing business fluctuations and presents a formula for preventing "economic jitters": "Whatever our theory may

be regarding business cycles and their cause, fear plays some part in them, for men and women who have fears are an integral part of them. . . . We are afraid today not only of a possible depression or recession. We are probably more afraid of the depressing effects of fear itself . . . obviously fears of some groups are more powerful, influential, more explosive than fears of other groups. . . . We can eliminate many of the fear-makers from our social and economic system. We can do this, and we should, voluntarily, as businessmen. If we rely mainly on government to accomplish this freedom from fear, we may well lose much of our freedom. America wants both freedom and security. But we can achieve a balance between freedom and security if every group voluntarily approaches the task so as to forestall government control over both security and liberty."

Household. "Why We Behave Like Inhuman Beings" Feb 1949, pp. 7, 69-76.

This article analyzes the 20th Century crisis in terms of human behavior and shows how the social sciences can help us overcome this crisis. The article concludes: "Thus science, with its modern equipment of experiment and method, is seeking to solve the problem of inhuman behavior through greater and greater knowledge of man and the world in which he lives. The key to our liberation from our jungle heritage of force and fraud lies in accelerated self-understanding. The truth shall indeed make us free when we learn with the same control we exercise over the physical nature, that it must now be the truth about ourselves."

Independent. "Putting Politics on the Market," Vol. 120, No. 4068, May 19, 1928, pp.47(M72.

ELB urges politics to employ the public relations techniques of big business in order "to do away with inefficiency in campaigning."

After suggesting that politics has failed to keep up with business methods in mass distribution of ideas and products, ELB recommends a program for remedying this defect. "Politicians who know po

litical strategy and who can develop campaign issues, who can devise strong planks for platforms and envisage broad policies cannot be given the responsibility of selling ideas to a public of more than 100,000,000. The politician understands the public. He knows what the public wants and what the public will accept. But the politician is not necessarily a general sales manager, a public relations counsel, or a man who knows how to secure a mass distribution of ideas. . . . The political campaign today is all side shows, all honors, all bombast, glitter, and speeches. . . . Big business is conducted on the principle that it must prepare its policies carefully and that, in selling an idea to the large buying public of America, it must proceed according to broad plans. The political strategist must do likewise. The entire campaign should be worked out according to broad basic plans. Platforms, planks, pledges, budgets, activities, and personalities must be as carefully studied, apportioned, and used as they are when a business desires to get what it wants from the public. The first step in a political campaign is to determine on the objectives, and to express them exceedingly well in the current form that is, as a platform. . . . To aid in the preparation of the platform there should be made as scientifically as possible an analysis of the public, in order to determine just what the platform should contain. . . . The expenses of a political campaign should be budgeted. . . . The first question which should be decided is the amount of money to be raised for the campaign. This decision can be reached by a careful analysis of campaign costs. . . . Then the second question of importance is the manner in which money should be raised. It is obvious that politics would gain much in prestige if the money-raising campaign were conducted candidly and publicly, just as the war campaign funds were raised. . . . The third step is to decide how the money is to be spent. This should be done according to the most careful and exact budgeting, wherein every step in the campaign is given its proportionate importance, and the funds allotted accordingly. ... In the same way the emotions by which the public is appealed to may be made part of the broad plan of the campaign. Unrelated emotions become maudlin and sentimental too easily, are often costly, and too often waste effort because the idea is not part of the conscious and coherent whole. . . . The emotional content must, first, coincide in every way with the broad basic plans of the campaign and all its minor details; second, it must be adapted to the many

groups of the public at which it is to be aimed; and third, it must conform to the media of the distribution of ideas. . . . It is essential for the campaign manager to educate emotions in terms of groups.

. . . The political campaign having denned its broad objects and its basic plans, having denned the group appeal which it must use and the groups which it must reach, must now define the various channels through which it can appeal to the public as a whole. . . . But whatever is done must be synchronized accurately with all other forms of appeal to the public. Many events can be planned, events which must dramatize the ideas for which the candidate or the party or the platform stands. Activities must be coordinated, the platform itself must be so presented that every plank of it may be as understandable, as graphic, as concise as the slogan of a soap manufacturer or a motor company. . . . When this is achieved it is possible that political supply and demand can be brought closer together. Scientific methods and sales charts will supercede the guesses and the betting that form so large a part of the campaigning today."

. "This Business of Propaganda." Vol. 121,

No. 4083, Sept 1928, pp. 198-199.

Editorial note: "Propaganda is an ancient art, but it required the war to develop a new profession skilled in its uses. Governments, prominent persons, banking, industry have all called upon the public relations counsel to smooth out their contacts with the world. Somewhat recently the investigation of power publicity has focused attention upon the legitimate use of propaganda. THE INDEPENDENT has invited Mr. Bernays, one of the most prominent public relations counsels and author of 'Crystallizing Public Opinion,' to explain in this article the rules of his profession and the limitations of propaganda."

In the article, ELB says the ethics of a propagandist or public relations counsel should be: (1) never to represent or plead in the court of public opinion a cause he believes is socially unsound; (2) never to take the cases of conflicting clients; (3) "when he deals with any of the media of disseminating ideas to the public press, radio, lecture platform or motion pictures he will do so as the representative of his client, 'maintaining the same standards of truth with

them as govern the morals and habits of the world he lives in.' The social value of the public relations counsel," ELB concludes, "lies in the fact that he brings to the public facts and ideas of social value which would not so readily gain acceptance otherwise. While he, of course, may represent men and individuals who have already gained great acceptance in the public mind, he may represent new ideas of value not yet accepted."

Industrial and Labor Relations Review. "An

Educational Program for Unions," Vol. 1, No. 1.

Oct 1947, pp. 103-109.

ELB discusses industrial relations from the public relations standpoint. "It appears to me that unions still have an important job of work to do; namely, to carry on an intensified factual educational campaign, to instruct not only the general public and management, but their own union members as well, on the bedrock facts of the struggle for industrial democracy. . . . Organized labor can help educate

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both management and workers to a realization of this obligation. Such education has one basic purpose: to create understanding, so that management and labor may work together effectively and prevent clashes. And this cooperation must come, for our system cannot stand continuous warfare." After examining the educational program of one progressive union, which consisted of: educating members to enter into the union's work; to strengthen democracy; and to sell itself to its own rank and file, ELB suggests additional programs: "(1) Make the public understand the value to the country of sound unions and mature union leadership. (2) Make the employer understand the value of unions to him, and make him realize that he needs to apply the science of humanics, the study of human relations. (3) Make the worker understand our industrial system and his role in it. This type of education will lay the foundations for a broader understanding of controversial economic issues, and build toward increased cooperation between labor and other major sectors of our

society."

Infantry Journal. "War against Words." Vol.

XLVII, No. 5. Sept-Oct 1940, pp. 482^85.

In discussing the importance of modern propaganda techniques in psychological warfare today, ELB says: "The Army of the United States must make full use of this art and this science if it is to have the highest potential morale within its own forces, and the highest efficiency in attack and counter-attack on the enemy in the psychological warfare of today." After pointing up the increased role played by propaganda activities in the first World War and its even greater prospects for the second World War, ELB outlines a program for effective counter-propaganda. "The most effective method, of course, is to develop in one's own adherents an overwhelming will to victory, a belief in strength, a certainty of success, a forceful morale. Morale is dependent on many factors. Counter-propaganda can meet the strategy of terror aimed to break it down by (1) Emphasis by reiteration of the weaknesses of the enemy, using facts, figures and dramatization of strong spots. (2) Deflation of the attack of words before it is launched by calling attention to it, exposing the method, and thus taking the wind out of its sails."

. "Morale: First Line of Defense." Vol.

XLVIII, No. 5, May 1941. pp. 32-35, 69.

Editorial note in "Meet Our Authors": "Edward L. Bernays is the well-known public relations counsel. During the World War he served as a member of the staff of the United States Committee on Public Information the 'Creel Committee' and he was later also on duty in Paris at the Peace Conference. He wrote Crystallizing Public Opinion and Propaganda. This issue carries his second contribution to The Infantry Journal; the first, 'War Against Words,' appeared in the September-October, 1940 number." p. 69.

Emphasizing that in modern warfare "psychological ramparts are as important as physical ramparts," ELB urges that "our morale is our true first line of

defense." While national unity and morale must come from all, "it cannot be imposed from any central authority or control." The Army can help build

morale by 1 . exerting itself to make democracy work better by cherishing democratic standards both in its own inner workings and its relations with those not in the Army; to defend democracy, our Army must be a democratic army; 2. leaders of the Army can aid in making democracy work better by their public expression in favor of those causes that, make for a more closely knit democracy; Army leaders can strengthen America's psychological front by becoming articulate, dynamic proponents of democracy, pp. 32-33.

Commenting on the importance of the Army's newly established Public Relations Bureau and Morale Branch, ELB recommends the following.

For the Bureau: 1. a broader survey than has yet been made of Army customs and practices; 2. a study of what the public expects of its democratic army; 3. a study to ascertain what words, pictures and actions, and what type of presentation will best convey the facts about the Army to the public; 4. through the Bureau of Public Relations, Army leaders should express themselves to a greater extent than at present upon matters affecting democracy; the educational system of the country can be urged to study and teach the varied fields of learning that enter into the new political and psychological warfare; 5. the Bureau should speak up for democracy within the Army itself; 6. it should avail itself more and more of the intellectual resources of the scientific and trained personnel available in this country.

For the Morale Branch: 1. the fullest use of specialized scientific personnel to serve on a Morale Commission that will advise the Army's public relations and morale agencies on policies and methods; 2. to harness civilian intellectual capacities to the problems the country and the Army face, both within the Army and in the relation of the Army to civilians; experts in the social sciences sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, social psychologists, adult educators, experts in public relations and communications are likewise willing to place themselves at the disposal of the government and should be called upon as freely, p. 34.

Journalism Quarterly. "The Press Must Act to Meet Postwar Responsibility," Vol. 21, No. 2. Jun 1944, pp. 122-129.

Editorial note: "Mr. Bernays, the well-known public

relations counselor, here analyzes newspaper 'platforms' and public acceptance of the press, and suggests steps it must take to maintain its position in the world of tomorrow."

ELB's analysis is based on the premise that "communications today and in the postwar world constitute a problem of vital concern. The press, radio, motion pictures and magazines are our four greatest media of communication. They bear tremendous social responsibility . . . which will determine what the future shall be. . . . The daily press has made enormous strides in the last few

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years. . . . But the press . . . has failed to gain the broad public acceptance it should, either as a disseminator of news or as an instrument of social leadership, the two functions of a free and independent press in a democracy. There is danger to our democratic well-being in this condition, for unless the public regards the press as a free and independent medium and an instrument of leadership . . . there may be a tendency . . . toward restriction and control, despite the First Amendment."

ELB says his conclusions are based upon "a study of authoritative surveys . . . and from personal correspondence with publishers all over the nation. . . . One hundred sixty-nine publishers of American daily newspapers in 161 cities, in 43 states where 96 per cent of the dailies are located, cooperated. . . . The newspapers I studied were approximately nine per cent of the entire daily press of America . . . a cross-section of the entire press."

In the study, problems "vitally affecting both the public and the press" were involved: "First, what are the public relations policies and practices that govern American daily newspapers today? Second, what are the attitudes of the American people toward the . . . press. . . ? Third, what are the issues and goals the American people are interested in now and for the post-war period? . . . We shall appraise newspapers and their platforms from two standpoints," ELB also pointed out, "first, as a professional service purveying news, an informant of public

opinion, independent and free; second, as a social instrument of leadership expressing itself in interest in the local community in improvements, projects, cooperation; and in interest in the national government in patriotism, in war and postwar interests."

ELB concludes: "If the newspaper effectively serves the public as a news disseminator and a social instrument, we do not need to be concerned about the newspaper as a successful private enterprise. . . . Newspapers may have much advertising and circulation brought about by many different causes today, but if they do not act on these basic considerations they will not be able to maintain their position in our society." ELB gives "recommendations for platforms of leadership character" leading to the high point that the press "must 'sell' to the public constantly that it is truthful and accurate. ... It must stress to the public in every way its independence from domination by newspaper owners, politicians, capitalists, government or advertisers. . . . This can be done through what is known as the 'engineering of consent,' using public relations procedures . . . [covering] a knowledge of maladjustments with the public, and their elimination; of objectives, themes, strategy, timing, planning, or organization and the use of tactics, through every channel of approach. . . ."

. "Views on Postwar Responsibility of the

American Press." Vol. 22, No. 3, Sept 1945, pp. 255-262.

Editor's note: "Mr. Bernays, the well-known public relations counselor, presents a representative collec

tion of frank and enlightening comments on his article in the June 1944 Journalism Quarterly, which has provoked wide discussion."

ELB says: "In the June 1944 Journalism Quarterly was published my article entitled 'The Press Must Act to Meet Postwar Responsibility!' . . . The article dealt with stated policies of American newspapers and how they practice them; the attitudes of the public toward the press; the issues that the public considers to be important; and recommendations on public relations for the daily press. It pointed out that danger signals existed for the

American press. From an interpretation of authoritative surveys, it suggested that the press has failed to gain the broad public acceptance which its function in a democracy demands the function of a disseminator of accurate, complete and unbiased news and an instrument of social leadership. It concluded that, unless steps were taken to remedy this condition, not only does the press stand to suffer but the progress of the nation itself might be impeded. . . . The London's World's Press News, on September 7, 1944, devoted a page to it and commented: 'His analysis must give thinking leaders of the press . . . concern. His article deserves serious consideration.' ... In this country reprints of the article were sent for comment to a number of leading publishers and editors of daily newspapers and to educators, business men and professional men. Some 500 responses were received from these key figures in American life. With one exception, the respondents supported the position taken in the article. The observations ranged from alarm at the existing problem to confidence in a satisfactory solution." ELB then abstracts some of the responses he received, concluding: "Certainly, these responses indicate an awareness of the problem by leaders of newspapers and other sectors of our society. A recognition of the necessity for change is a healthy sign in a democracy."

Labor and Nation. "The Public Can Be Brought to Labor by Bringing Labor to the Public." Vol. I, No. 2, Oct 1945. pp. 33-47.

ELB contributes to the magazine's symposium on "Public Attitudes Toward Labor Unions: An Analysis of Popular Reactions toward Labor Unionism as Reflected in the Public Polls by Leading Public Relations Experts and National Union Officials." Other contributors are Philip Murray, Walter P. Reuther, Elmo Roper, J.B.S. Hardman, Julius Hochman.

ELB says: "At the present time, the only data that is available relative to public attitudes on labor practices and labor leaders is that of the opinion polls. If I were asked to draw my conclusions from the opinion polls, certainly I would say that the public is sharply critical of labor union practices and of many labor leaders. That does not mean, however, that this conclusion is necessarily a correct one. For the polls, while they show that the general public is sharply critical, do not show the depth or the intensity of these critical opinions. . . . There are means of ascertaining the state of the public

mind which may, from the broad standpoint, prove

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the contrary of the polls. . . . We call our question technique the 'depth interview' method. . . . The method attempts to find the basic motivations that have prompted whatever the surface attitude may be, and to indicate the extent to which an individual is tied to whatever opinion he may have and the reasons why. Such a method applied to . . . labor union practices and labor leaders would, it seems to me, permit an individual to give a considered judgment . . ."

Public regulation of certain phases of union activity, ELB continues, might allay certain anti-union sentiment for the time being but would not necessarily be a permanent cure. To make effective headway, cooperation between labor and the public must be treated from an integrated, unified approach to the problem. "Such a unified approach might well be borrowed from what industries have done in meeting comparable problems of public relationships. They have banded together for purposes of working out adjustments, . . . have modified their own attitudes and actions to conform to society's demands and in turn, attempted to modify public attitudes and actions to bring about integration."

. "Labor Education as a Problem in Public

Relations." Vol. II, No. 2, Mar-Apr 1947, pp. 19-21.

ELB presents a program for acquainting the public with the aims, functions and operations of labor unions. The editorial note says: "Edward L. Bernays is a nationally recognized public relations expert. The statement on these pages is taken from an address by Mr. Bernays before a UAW-CIO Educational Conference held at Cleveland, Ohio, January 24-27, 1947."

The statement is one of three presented in the "How-to-Do-it Department" of this issue, with the editor's comment: "In response to frequent requests from union workers in the field, LABOR and NA

TION will print under the above heading competent statements describing, in necessary and sufficient detail, the way 'things are being done' in various branches of union activity. . . . LABOR and NA TION invites the widest possible reporting on the 'know-how' of all that relates to union activity, in dustrial and public relations, political activity, edu cation, democracy."

In his discussion ELB stresses four great needs in labor education as a public relations problem (1) for labor educational programs based on essen tials; he outlines immediate and long-range steps to take; (2) for specific kinds of information about unions to be supplied to the public with proper plan ning; (3) for employer-education programs; (4) for economics education of union members. He gives explicit guides as to the "several broad lines of effort" along which "labor education needs to be directed" first, in the education of members on union objectives; second, in strengthening democ racy; third ["and this is not often announced but well understood"] in "selling" the union to its own rank and file suggesting, also, "three additional

programs of education to make all segments of your public [general, employer and worker] understand what you want and why, and be more willing to accept your goals," with planning "on a broad but detailed scale, over an extended period." He gives an extensive schedule to be used in planning "to cover the following kinds of information about unions:

1. What is a union? How does it function? 2. What are the educational and welfare activities of unions?
3. What are the facts about collective bargaining?
4. What are the facts about labor disputes in general?
5. What do the words mean? [. . . to do this job . . . simply to apply the techniques . . . [of] mass education.]" For educational directors "of a great union" he provides an 8-point educational program to "help reach general union goals . . . aimed at the employer: 1. Educate your employer to the place of the union in our system, ... to study and use the knowledge of human relations that has been gathered by universities, labor unions, foundations. 2. Point out [the] many groups of progressive men and or ganizations . . . interested in studying and fur

thering human relations . . . [which] deserve support from businessmen and labor unions . . . [such as] the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, the Society for the Advancement of Management, the American Academy of Political and Social Science. ... 3. Persuade them to stimulate further research by industrial relations schools like those at Cornell, Princeton. 4. Encourage [them] to carry on technological research to improve working conditions. 5. Help management to develop new approaches to the industrial relations problem . . . [for instance, stabilized employment . . .]. 6. Point up the importance of intelligent, honest, unbiased industrial relations personnel. 7. Urge management to encourage responsible leadership among the unions. 8. Urge them to support housing programs, civil liberties, sound international relations and other programs to strengthen democracy." Warning that "efforts cannot succeed overnight," ELB stresses the point further that "The educational process builds new points of view by planned continuous and repeated efforts. Different times, conditions and methods yield different results." Indicating finally the need, proved by "reliable polls," for education of union members in economics, he says, "Most of us know little about technical finance in business. This leaves the worker without the knowledge on which bargaining must be based. If he understands management's problems, he can deal with management on a realistic basis. . ."

Leader Magazine. How Can the British and the Americans Understand Each Other?" London: Sept 10, 1949, pp. 5-7, ill.

Editorial note: "What is wrong with Anglo-American relations? Is the present outburst of misunderstanding and resentment a passing mood or a deep-seated problem? Here America's leading expert on public relations, now visiting Britain to study techniques in this country, puts forward a plan to meet the most serious issue of the year."

ELB asserts, "There is no doubt that the people of Britain and ... of America are farther apart than at any time since before the first World War. . . .

The dangerous fact is that the people of the two great democracies are today emphasising their disagreements rather than their areas of agreement," ELB stresses the fact that "we must look for a solution that is lasting, based on the understanding among both our peoples that we have a belief in a common past, a common present and a common future that our goals are the same."

He continues the three-page discussion and analysis under the sub-heads, "Understanding Comes First," "The Mistakes We Make," "Public Policy and Public Relations," and "A Joint Committee on Understanding." He proposes resolution of the problems he sees "in terms of the enlightened self-interest of the two parties concerned ... on the level of real, long-term issues, not short-term irritations. . . . First, . . . that a joint solution be found, not merely of the dollar-pound question, but of the entire problem of Anglo-American cooperation [which must depend on an enlightened public opinion, a public on both sides of the Atlantic which knows all the facts . . . and makes its decisions in the knowledge of these facts. ...].... From an economic standpoint, . . . Britain must, if it wants to export, lower its cost of production through increased efficiency in production; second, it must reduce costs based on cartel and trade association price-fixing. . . . At the same time, it is necessary for us in the United States to appreciate the special handicaps under which Britain labours in a post-war period. . . . [Many] irritations could be eliminated by a campaign of education of the American who comes to Great Britain, telling him what he may expect, and of the Britisher, telling him how to deal with the tourist when he comes. . . . There is the question of what to tell the Americans about Great Britain in their home country. . . . What is the remedy? I believe it is that at top-level policy-making, the British Cabinet, there be present always an expert public relations man who can interpret to the . . . Cabinet the impact of policy before it is translated into action or law. A good statesman is not necessarily a good public relations man. Too many public relations officers in government are given the policy to disseminate after it has been decided upon. . . . This is perhaps not the place to discuss personalities. But I would suggest emphatically that [in regard to] the man who acts as Ambassador of Great Britain to the United States . . . this is the time for forthright and frequent utterance by all Anglo-American spokesmen. The whole problem

of British information to America should be treated from the standpoint of the engineering of consent of the American people to their common heritage, their common present, their common future. . . . Any activity carried out should be part of a broad integrated programme covering effective research, strategy, themes, organisation, planning, timing and tactics. Call this propaganda if you will, it is aimed at accomplishing the end we all want. . . . America

must do her part, too, from an economic angle. She must lower tariffs if they keep out British goods that Britain produces better and cheaper. America must encourage rather than discourage British insurance companies . . . , should encourage the tourist traffic more than we do, . . . must realize that shipping is a British forte . . . rather than subsidize our merchant marine to the extent we do. . . . The suggestion has been made that as a first line of defence of democracy Britain and the United States form a Joint Committee on Furthering Common Understanding of joint problems confronting them. We have a joint military staff, discussing and preparing problems of defending democracy's physical boundaries. But we know that military preparations are useless unless they are backed by the people of the democracies. ... If we had both, through such a joint board, done what our military people are doing, built up our common goals on common understanding, we would not now be in a position in which there is fear that we may be divided not only in two worlds, but in three."

McCall's Magazine. "The Two Lives of Women,"

Jun, Jul 1946.

Editorial note calls ELB "the foremost public relations counsel."

The first of these two articles examines woman's ideal life as contrasted with her actual existence; the second provides a blueprint for action by women. The articles contain factual information, opinions obtained from 260 leading physicians, playwrights, educators, clergymen, social scientists, labor leaders, philosophers, historians, Congressmen, journalists, pediatricians, artists, poets, writers, movie producers, statesmen, columnists, lawyers, economists, businessmen, counsel, etc. In the first article, ELB

describes his "approach to the subject": . . . "We did not set up shop as experts on women ourselves. Instead, we sought out the experts and got their opinions and then . . . evaluated the mass of opinions . . . received. Our operating premise was that we must first know . . . the physical and psychological differences between men and women. Then we determine what thoughtful men and women consider the ideal relationship between the two sexes. . . . We must determine how far the actual falls short of that ideal in woman's role as sweetheart and wife and mother, her part in industry and the professions, her legal and political standing in the society. Finally, we must produce, as the sifted and considered body of opinion from the experts who guided us, recommendations leading toward a more satisfying and more rewarding place for women in American life. There was nothing in the technique we employed which we have not employed frequently in other fields of inquiry: 1. Authoritative books were read and abstracted. 2. Contemporary magazines and newspapers were studied. 3. The attitudes of women in recent public opinion polls were compared with the attitudes of men. 4. The leading organizations concerned with the activities of women were asked to furnish material.

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5. Thousands of letters were mailed to leading men and women of the country anthropologists and teachers, doctors and clergymen and social workers, writers and scientists asking for the full discussion of a series of questions. Their replies, which came in unprecedented number and frankness, form the basic core of this report." In the second article, when he undertakes "to interpret these opinions and to prepare a blueprint of action by which the actual may be brought somewhat closer to the ideal" ELB says that "a fair cross section of the leaders of thought in this country, told us ... that because of her intelligence and natural abilities, woman is the equal of man in nearly every field of human endeavor." The blueprint as to the organization of a campaign around a need felt by women includes specific steps "1) The preparation of informative material for members of the group or committee, for the press, and for local radio station. 2) The

drafting of letters and pamphlets ... to all leaders of thought in the community. 3) ... An outline giving a specific job to each member of the committee." In addition, there are suggestions as to the building of themes and appeals, "a set of tactical plans" for "the lifting of woman to equal status with man, [in], i.e., the matter of recognition in the practice of medicine, and in general public relations procedure." ELB then summarizes, "... society needs woman as a mind and an active force, rather than as something locked to the kitchen and the vacuum cleaner. Woman has not emerged into her full usefulness. The way she can emerge is by her own efforts. Nobody will help her. What do you say? What is more important? What will you do?" As a part of "these expert instructions prepared ... at McCall's request, by America's foremost public relations counselor," the magazine also presents "a case history (illustrated) of women in action . . . hypothetical only as to names and dates. In thousands of actual cases people have used these techniques to change the course of events and other people's minds."

Mademoiselle. "We Hitch Our Wagons," Aug

1947, p. 252.

One of twenty guest editors at Mademoiselle's first Jobs and Futures Conference, ELB, advised Elaine Diamond, U.C.L.A. '47, about a promotion career. "You'll need the broadest possible general knowledge, the ability to deal with everything from fashion to highways plus imagination and analytical logic."

"Blowing the Other Fellow's Horn." May

1949, pp. 172-73, 256-259.

Editor's note: "Mr. Bernays' advice to young women on careers in public relations is backed by twenty-five years' experience as counsel for corporations and philanthropies, radio chains and universities, factories and art galleries. In fact, he has been called America's No. 1 Publicist."

Discussing careers for young women in public relations, ELB divides the field into non-profit groups public service, government, education, foundations,

social service organizations, political parties, religion, recreation and profit groups where public relations counsel handle "everything from trade associations and insurance companies to the motion picture industry." In public relations "the quality of your brains is more important than your profile."

Among qualities desirable in public relations, ELB says, are the ability to induce other people to do what you want them to; travel on your own steam; be alert, tactful; have an analytical mind, a flair for research, a talent for writing, be articulate and above all accurate; be a good mixer; remember names and faces; be persuasive; be able to stand a fast pace; have good judgment, objectivity, discretion, honesty, sincerity, vision, imagination and "good old common horse sense." For success in the field, you have to know the strategy and techniques of public relations; you also have to know the cause you would espouse fashion, food, finance, etc.

"The social sciences make good basic equipment for all aspirants. . . . Many universities throughout the country offer courses. ... A college education is not a prerequisite but it helps. You can get ahead by starting at the bottom . . . and learning while you work as a stenographer. ... A seasoned PR woman knows how to do research, conduct surveys, write articles, news releases, speeches, pamphlets, annual reports, . . . conduct a house organ, direct a mailing campaign, stage exhibits and shows, arrange press conferences and speak in public."

Defining the field, ELB says: "In its correct sense, public relations is advising on policy-making matters. Publicity is not. It is one of the most important tools of public relations, but it is not public relations. . . . The general determines the strategy, the colonel carries out the strategy planned by the general. Public relations is usually associated with consultant, institutional, and big business functions. Publicity concerns itself with newsmaking and the psychology of selling products and ideas."

Musical America. "Letter to the Editor," Jun 12,

1916.

Letter to the Editor of Musical America written for the Music League of America in protest against the article, "When New York Sits in Judgement"

by P. J. Grant, which appeared in the magazine on June 10, 1916. ELB says: "It (the Music League of America) is called to task for having such men and women as Pasquale Amato, Giovanni Martinelli, Mme. Kurt and Johannes Sembach, 'foreigners', on its Park Music Committee. ... As regards the make-up of the committee, we feel that this is as it should be. It is thoroughly cosmopolitan in make-up; a representative committee that can well choose music for New York's conglomerate population. . . . As to the public press allowing its formation without even a protest, that, to our minds, shows that the public press here is not as narrow as it might be in Paris or Berlin, the cities to which your writer refers. The lack of this narrowness is shown, too, by the membership of the committee and by the artists who have offered their services."

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The New Leader. "Is Broadway Disappearing?"

Vol. XXXIII, No. 20. May 20, 1950. 32pp.
Editorial Note: "Edward L. Bernays is one of America's leading public relations counsels." This article is based on the theatre survey made by ELB for The League of New York Theatres in 1949, and covers more or less the same ground as the article on the same subject in Theatre Arts Magazine. See below.

. "Hawaii the Almost Perfect State?"

Vol. XXXIII, No. 46, Nov 20, 1950. 32 pp.
Editorial note: "Edward L. Bernays, U. S. Publicist Number 1, studied island conditions first-hand as visiting professor in Public Relations at the University of Hawaii last summer."

At this time, says ELB, when the United States is so deeply concerned with problems in the Far East, Hawaii has a fourfold significance for us: 1. she is our island bastion in the Pacific; 2. she disproves Soviet accusations that imperialism and racism are our national policy; 3. she dramatizes to the Mainland that Americans of most diverse backgrounds can live together in harmony; 4. she demonstrates that 500,000 Americans, 2,500 miles distant in the Pacific, can successfully work out their destiny democratically.

Hawaii has reached many of her goals political self-sufficiency, high standards of democratic living, economic self-containment; she clearly deserves statehood. But some gaps still need to be bridged.

Outlining Hawaii's history in economic and ethnic terms, ELB says: "Such disharmony as exists can be blamed for the most part on the little group of myopic men who constitute an expanded Big Five, who are outmoded and outdated in their attitudes and policies, and who are still trying to run the Islands."

He then lists two types of rumors in Hawaii which express aggression: 1. ethnic rumors that deal with relationships between Caucasian and other ethnic groups, and 2. economic rumors that play up the middleman, and the man in the street, as victims of the Interests, the Big Five, Big Business. He also lists fourteen sources of friction pointed out by Hawaiians of Oriental background. "Improvement in intergroup relations is all the more important," says ELB, "because today the situation is so excellent on the whole. Nothing I have said here is intended to give the impression that cataclysmic reform is needed in the Islands. On the contrary, Hawaii is possibly as nearly democratic as any community in the world. Hawaii comes close to meeting the four goals projected above. For Hawaii to meet these goals fully, it would need only a very slight change of attitude on the part of a very small number of people toward the residual problems discussed here." pp. 10-13.

New York State Pharmacist, See Addenda, Item 15.

Occupations. "Public Relations as a Career," Vol.

XVI, No. 2, Nov 1937, pp. 131-133.

This article by ELB and Doris E. Fleischman analyzes the continued substantial growth of public relations activities in recent years and outlines the

occupational opportunities existing in their field.

The function of the public relations counsel, this article says, is to appraise and deal with the group, and individual mind and action. The public relations counsel approaches a particular problem as follows:

1. He analyzes the relationship of the public to his client. 2. He analyzes his client and his client's objectives. 3. He formulates policies to govern his client's practices toward the public. 4. He interprets the client, his product or his services to the public.

The young man or woman entering this profession has before him possibilities for influence that are limited only by his own ability. The ideal of the profession is a pragmatic one. It is to make the producer understand what the public wants, and to make the public understand the objectives of the producer; it is to make the producer, in the widest sense of the term, and the consumer meet on the highest possible point between them for the greatest good.

Discussing the ethics of the profession, ELB and DEF say that the public relations counsel maintains faith with his public, his client and his media of distribution to the public. He cannot accept clients whose cases are mutually antagonistic or a case which is anti-social.

The most effective way to start in this profession is to join someone practicing it. This covers a wide range, from banks to farm bureau federations. Salary of beginner varies with demand for his services, his ability, his power to sell himself, the budget of the group or individual for whom he works. Women have achieved comparable standing with men in this field.

Printers' Ink. "The Press Agent Has His Day."

Feb 26, 1920, pp. 107-108.

In this article, ELB replies to an editorial in Printers' Ink of Feb 19, 1920 which implied that "all free publicity is necessarily surreptitious and that it can function only through back alley approaches to the editors of second-rate publications." He calls attention to two facts of outstanding importance. "Leading papers throughout the country, including the best New York publications, depend to a considerable extent upon publicity organizations for news which would not otherwise come to their attention, and are keenly appreciative of the assistance which the publicity man gives them, either in the contribution of immediate news or in the providing of leads, the investigation of which results in news and feature material. . . . The most successful American corporations and individuals have for a long time been

employing publicity experts to present their point of view to the public, and are now represented either by a personal publicity man on the staff or by a publicity organization."

ELB attributed both these facts to "the highly technical and specialized character of American journalism." He also points out that "an efficient publicity man must believe firmly in the value of advertising," and that "no honest publicity man undertakes under any circumstances to promise the printing or appearance of his material."

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ELB concludes: "What the lawyer does for his client in the court of law, we do for our clients in the court of public opinion through the daily and periodical press. There are shady practitioners among us for whom we unfortunately have no machinery for disbarment such as advertising men and lawyers possess. Nevertheless, it is distinctly a pity for large industrial interests to refrain from accomplishing many useful purposes which a publicity organization fulfills because they are misinformed as to the general reliability and utility of publicity services."

Public Opinion Quarterly. "Recent Trends in Public Relations Activities," Vol. I, No. 1, Jan 1937, pp. 147-151.

ELB says: "The public relations profession enlarged its activities throughout the depression, because business realized that in addition to selling its products under unfavorable conditions it needed also to sell itself to the public, to explain its contribution to the entire economic system."

In this article, ELB outlines the development of public relations from pre-Depression days to the Depression era. Prior to the Depression, he says, the public relations activities of industry were, to a large extent, confined to trade associations and the larger corporations. Trade associations which had specific problems of public relations competition, taxes, sales difficulties called in the expert on public opinion. When the depression and deflation first came, there was little change, little attempt to

grapple with the new conditions. But a change did come when corporations and leaders lost prestige simultaneously. The public was now keenly sensitive, because of its feeling of insecurity, to everything about a corporation that it did not understand. Companies were exposed to attacks on all sides from unexpected quarters. False rumors hurt business. Then "the public relations counsel was called in at all hours of the day or night to rush to the fire and put out what might well have spread into a disastrous conflagration."

Advising and aiding in the rebuilding of established reputations which had been blasted, and attempting to build new reputations, were prime public relations tasks of the Depression period. The day of the straw man and the stuffed shirt were over. America no longer wanted clay idols. It wanted real heroes, who kept pace with the changed times and anticipated changed conditions by changing policies and actions in advance of public pressure and law men who recognized that private business is a public trust. Companies began to realize they had neglected the following important phases of their own existence:

1. The importance of always adhering to the principle that, to survive, private business must always be in the public interest.
2. That the public interest is a changing concept and business must change with it.
3. That the place of business in the American system must be sold to the public.
4. That public relations techniques can help to do this.

Once this was recognized, trade associations and corporations developed new campaigns to rationalize and in

tegrate business into the thinking of the American people.

. "Attitude Polls Servants or Masters?"

Vol. 9, No. 3, Fall, 1945, pp. 264-268.

Editorial note: " 'We are no longer led by men. We are led by the polls,' says this vigorous criticism of opinion polls by a man whose career has been spectacular with success in studying and making public opinion. Edward L. Bernays goes on to recommend two steps to check what he considers a possible menace to the democratic process. Of course, some of the POQ editors dissent with equal vigor, and the next issue of the Quarterly will discuss the question further."

In this article, ELB says: "Polls are an enormously useful implement when honestly, efficiently and intelligently gathered and understood. On the other hand, they are potentially dangerous weapons in the hands of the unwise, the inept, the dishonest or the anti-social. . . . Inaccurate polls and interpretations are a danger to society: (1) Because inaccurate polls have as strong an influence on the public as true polls; (2) Because misuse of polls for biased or venal purposes by pollsters or by those who hire pollsters, can be extremely harmful; (3) Because leaders who misinterpret and distort polls in dealing with the public are a menace to society. . . . There is too literal an acceptance of the validity of attitude polls. . . . Attitude polls often lull legislators and business men into the belief that they are safe from public disapproval when quantitative percentage corroborates their own point of view. . . . There is, too, the danger in the new kind of leadership which polls have produced in the United States leadership of obedience to polls. Correct polls must be carefully used: (1) Because attitude polls exercise so strong an influence upon the public as often to discourage use of sound democratic methods of reaching important decisions; (2) Because society suffers when polls inhibit leaders from independent thinking, from anticipating change or from preparing the public for change; (3) Because polls exert pressure that may place society under what Jefferson called the tyranny of the majority and throttle progressive minority ideas. . . . But while the attitude polls carry these dangers with them, scientifically planned polls, carried out within the limits of present-day knowledge, may be accurate as to future actions. . . ."

To prevent some of the misuse and misinterpretations of polls, ELB recommends: 1. pollsters should be licensed, just as doctors, lawyers, accountants and architects are licensed ; the people, as represented by their state or national government, should set up "standards of character and educational qualifications before an individual is permitted to practice"; 2. the public and its leaders should be educated in the "significance of polls in our society." They should be given "facts and points of view about polls, so that they can appraise polls correctly and in that way prevent dangers to society." ELB concludes: "Polls then will fill a sound democratic purpose of helping

make decisions represent the accommodation of many viewpoints, rather than a majority opinion overwhelming all other points of view."

Public Utilities Fortnightly. "The Public Utility That Is ' Misunderstood'," Vol. VI, No. 11, Nov 27, 1930, pp. 664-666.

Analyzes the role of the public relations counsel in guiding corporations' policies for the attainment of its objectives.

ELB says: "Public relations is not a mystery. It embraces every contact a utility (or any other organization or individual for that matter) has with the public or any part of it. ... Since a utility is concerned with the public's attitude, it needs to know and act on important principles: 1. There are psychological principles behind all behavior. He who would influence or attempt to control behavior needs to understand these principles. 2. Behavior is reciprocal. The public attitude towards an organization reflects the organization's attitude toward it, and that attitude must be expressed in acts, not merely words. The public must be definitely guided and influenced toward the desired actions. 3. The public is not a mass; it is a series of interlocking groups with varying motivations of moulding different groups toward an end. . . . The need for skilled shaping of such a policy, and the necessity for guidance of specific actions to make the policy effective, have created the profession of public relations counsel.

"The public relations counsel must know the groups of which the public is composed. ... If the public utility has been misunderstood in whole or in part by its public or parts of it, he starts the work of education or re-education. If the client has been at fault in old avoidable practices he points the way first, to modification, and second, to reflection of that modification to the public. Again, if the client wishes to embark on new practices, he sets about gaining awareness of and acceptance for these."

. " What Can Utilities Do about Public Re

lations Today?" See Addenda, Item 16.

Publicity Director. "Propaganda: A Vital Social Force," May 1933, pp. 6-8.

ELB says: "It seems to me that the future historian will ascribe to propaganda a very large share of responsibility for America's progress, and that he will point to us, not as victims of propaganda, but as its beneficiaries."

Reader's Scope. "Are We Slaves to Attitude Polls?"

Vol. 1, No. 8, Jan 1947, pp. 91-94.
Reprint of ELB's article from Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall 1945, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 264, 268, see above.

Reporter of Direct Mail Advertising. "Direct Mail A Challenge to Research in Humanics,"

Vol. 10, No. 2, May 1947, pp. 6-8.

ELB urges a more fundamental approach to the problems of direct mail advertising. "The science and art of communication as a whole is one of the major problems facing the world. The most recent

number of the Annals of The Academy of Political and Social Science is devoted to the subject 'Communication and Social Action.' It warns in the foreword that our civilization is in a race between communication and that includes Direct Mail and chaos. We know that what we call society is only a network of partial understanding held together by communication, in which the mails play an important part. Every act of a buyer involves some form of communication from buyer to seller and seller to buyer."

Rotarian Magazine. "License the Poll Takers?"

Oct 1946.

In this debate with Claude Robinson, ELB upholding the affirmative, says: "Attitude polls, scientifically taken and intelligently interpreted, serve a useful purpose as tools for leadership in a democracy, but they are misused today by some of the pollsters who make them, and misinterpreted by the public and leaders of the public who are influenced by them. Pollsters should be licensed by the Government just as are doctors and lawyers."

His premise is that licensing would "safeguard the public," in opposition to the negative position, "It would end freedom of press," taken by Claude Robinson, president, Opinion Research Corporation, Princeton, N. J.

Saturday Review of Literature. "The Revolution in Publicity," Vol. XXIV, No. 28, Nov 1, 1941, pp. 3, 4, 18.

In this short history of public relations, ELB says: "Invention, transportation, fashion, diet, diplomacy, even public relations all have been rocked by revolution. Since 1900 there have been four revolutions in the field of publicity. The first, 1900-1914, was the period of muck-raking versus whitewashing publicity; the second was marked by the mass scale effort to sell war aims and ideals, 1914-1918; the third, 1919-1920 saw large-scale industrial publicity; and, since 1929, publicity in the fields linking private interest and public responsibility has been in the forefront.

After describing these revolutions, the article continues: "Public relations is no longer a white-washing; it no longer pulls the wool over anybody's eyes. Studies of public attitudes indicate public demand. Psychological motives, psychoanalytical techniques, psychology, ethnology, statistics, serve as a new foundation for the activity. Added methods, tools all these have helped to integrate the work of the public relations counsel, and have aided in solving his problems, which, to say the least, had been heightened by world chaos and tragedy. . . . With this background, the responsible counsel on public relations goes about his work as does the industrialist. Whether industry can move fast enough to keep pace with the new demands made upon it by a world torn with economic and psychological insecurity is a question. Certainly the realities of the situation indicate that there is an awakening which if encouraged will keep for us the democratic pat

tern, enterprise, civil liberties, the 'four freedoms,'

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safe from the rigidity of state capitalism of the left or the right."

" Needed: A Grand Strategy," Vol. XXV,

No. 10, Mar 7, 1942, p. 10.

In this guest editorial, ELB discusses the relationship of censorship and propaganda to the war effort. "Total warfare has three fronts: military, economic and psychological. In order to achieve total warfare they must be integrated. It is my thesis that the psychological front with which censorship and propaganda are so directly concerned is an agent of integration, which will strengthen the other two fronts and weld all three into the necessary, effective whole." ELB suggests that "censorship should be a function of the broad psychological front concerned with public morale in the widest sense. Today it is only military and leaves the public in the middle."

As to propaganda, "a variety of propaganda agencies are at work, only loosely tied together, each calling vague signals to the other when there should be grand strategy and the grand approach. . . . The use of ideas as weapons must go hand in hand with our military planning and economic strategy." See Addenda, Item 18.

"Our Own Worst Enemy," Vol. XXXI,

No. 22, May 29, 1948, p. 13.

A review by ELB of "The Man in the Street," by Thomas A. Bailey. N. Y: The Macmillan Co., 1948. ELB is described in the editorial note as "author of 'Crystallized Public Opinion' (sic), 'Speak Up for Democracy,' and other books on similar subjects," This is a review of "The Man in the Street" by Thomas A. Bailey. ELB's full-page discussion analyzes the book's positive and negative points, including: "A work such as Bailey's is long overdue . . . [for] little investigation has been made of the

impact of public opinion on history. Mr. Bailey carefully examines indices of public opinion available to him . . . presents his facts and interpretations in 318 pages, most of them interesting, well-documented, and studded with a wealth of quotations. . . . To support his theory that public opinion endangers national security, Mr. Bailey selects opinion and fact . . . proposes an antidote . . . makes every effort to maintain objective aloofness, and generally succeeds. . . . He [also] builds an admirable platform of pleasant fantasies, which and we admit deep disappointment in the lack of constructive imagination of this excellent historian it is apparent are not likely to be substantiated in the perceptible future. . . . Occasionally, . . . [moreover] his interpretations betray a chauvinism that is surprising ... [as in] his discussion of the hyphenated Americans who took so large a part in this country's history . . . [and] we regret that more space was not devoted to his discussions of propaganda and pressure groups, and the printing press and airways." ELB also strongly advises that "the chapter on polls should be read carefully by all who help direct public affairs" commenting, "Our own studies verify the instability of individual

opinions on such matters as foreign affairs and international relations. Polls are reliable only as a current index. . . ."

School and Society, "Looking toward Reforms in the New York City School System: Shorter Papers," Vol.63, No. 1627, Mar 2, 1946, pp. 154-155. This article deals with the resignation of twenty men and women from the Advisory Committee on Human Relations of the Board of Education as a direct means of expressing protest against New York City's public schools. Through the recognition -of the strength of public opinion these protesters were able to institute encouraging changes in public-school education. An Emergency Committee for Better Schools for New York's Children was established "as moral support in the fight to arouse the broadest public opinion" and a real attempt was made to stimulate the interest and aid of parents and educators. The purpose of this organization was to stimulate public opinion; once the public was roused, definite action could be expected. Through investigation comes change; through change orientation and a more effective, working school administration.

Singing. "Can Publicity 'Make' a Musical Career?"

Apr 1926, pp. 16, 40.

A debate in article form between Robert A. Simon and ELB on the role of publicity in the making of careers for musical artists. ELB says: "Thus an artist and the music itself, to maintain its hold on the public interest, must be able to let the public know exactly what it stands for and let the public know exactly what is to be gained by attending a concert," p. 40. Editorial Note: "Edward L. Bernays is one of the foremost men in the select circle of public relations counsellors, the new profession which demands of its practitioners a practicable knowledge of psychology, publicity, modern journalism, world affairs, and some subjects not described in the text-books. . . . Mr. Bernays is frequently called on for advice by various governments, including Lithuania, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Arabia."

Southern Lumberman. "Lumber's Post-war Problems Demand New Public Relations Policies," Feb 15, 1946, pp. 44, 46, 48, 50.

ELB applies public relations principles to problems of lumber industry.

Theatre Arts. "Theatre Survey," Vol. XXXIII, No. 11, Dec 1949, pp. 17, 20, 93.

A report by ELB on the "objective, disinterested audit of its public relations" requested by the League of New York Theatres "to meet . . . three objectives. . . . To broaden and strengthen the role of the theatre in the social and cultural life of America so that the theatre may enjoy the high status in the public mind to which it is entitled ; to improve relations between the public and the legitimate theatre; and to increase theatre attendance by intensifying favorable attitudes of regular and occasional theatre goers, and by recruiting new theatre-goers." Declaring at the outset that "It is no news to anybody that

the theatre is passing through a crisis which did not begin today, yesterday, or even last year. . . . An upheaval which affects the whole of mankind is bound to create crisis in every field of thought and art. . . . The man who says there is nothing wrong with the theatre that a hit won't cure is naive. . . . What would cure the theatre at its foundation would be a theatre movement deeply rooted in the modern world and capable of creating the new theatre forms it requires."

ELB discusses his application of "the techniques of the social sciences ... to do for . . . most of New York's theatre producers and owners what we have done in the past quarter of a century for corporations, trade unions, governments, educational institutions, scientific groups and individual theatres." He described five studies undertaken "to give the League the kind of [comprehensive] survey it required" by attempting "to discover the social dynamics of the theatre situation":

[1] "We collated and analyzed existing literature about the American theatre, including the books on the theatre and innumerable magazine articles.

[2] We conducted personal interviews with thirty selected theatrical leaders, including producers, critics, editors, box office treasurers, brokers, theatre owners, actors, actresses, officers of theatrical unions, and playwrights. [3] We had depth interviews with 400 men and women in middle and upper income groups, representative of the theatregoing public in nine cities throughout the United States.

[4] By mail questionnaires we obtained opinions from 2,500 leaders in various professions and occupations, selected from Who's Who; and 2,500 people in middle and upper income groups in twenty-seven cities.

These people were asked thirty-five questions about their likes and dislikes in the theatre, and their adjustments and maladjustments with it. [5] In addition, while I was in London this summer studying the British Government's public relations policies and techniques, I directed a survey of West End methods of ticket sale and distribution in order to see if there was anything for Broadway to learn."

Adding that "the data gathered in these studies fill four volumes totaling 850 pages. We analyzed and interpreted this material and, on this basis, outlined recommendations for an action-program designed to achieve the League's three goals."

ELB gives a point-by-point summary of the major findings and recommendations, before concluding: "No one in his right mind would think of these recommendations as a cure-all for the theatre crisis, or imagine that anyone would propose them as a cure-all. But it is an action-program by which members of the League of New York Theatres can effectively change their attitudes and action, while educating the public and enlisting its support for the theatre. By presenting the public with the facts, by explaining the reasons for every situation, by reviving the great tradition of the theatre and by meeting the public's needs, the theatre can, I think, take a long step forward toward becoming the great creative force in American life which it can and ought to be."

This Week Magazine. "Do People Like You?"

Apr 8, 1950. 24 pp.

In the department "Everybody's Etiquette," ELB answers the question: "As a public relations expert, what is your advice on how to get along with people?" Individuals, he says, should study the methods business is now using to woo the public. If they applied them to their own relationships with others, they would be agreeably surprised. Some pointers: 1. be open-minded, sympathetic to the viewpoint of other fellow; 2. don't sound off with your own views or announce that you won't listen to any argument or show impatience with views of others; 3. be tactful, objective; 4. do not let a cold, a late party the night before or any other personal matter affect your attitudes; 5. be diplomatic; if you disagree with someone let him know you respect his intelligence and intentions. ELB lists several ways of making a point without being disagreeable or injuring the other person's ego; you can: 1. build him up while you talk; 2. appeal to his sense of fair play; 3. quote authority for what you say; 4. present factual evidence; 5. show your reasoning; 6. appeal to his emotions or his acceptance of tradition. These methods, ELB says, widen areas of agreement, narrow areas of disagreement, make it possible to turn a heated argument into a quiet discussion, build your own reputation as a person who gets along with others, p. 20.

Today. "Presenting American Business." Mar 28,

1936, pp. 10-11.

This article by ELB traces the development of American business in a "world changed with the great war," in a rapidly growing economy and its many problems. He defends it against the critics who condemn it for its "inability ... to deal with politics as politicians do, for its diffidence in assuming public leadership, for its failure to treat with the public on its own subject." He asserts: "Critics and commentators on American business condemn business for its poor sense of public relations as if a sense of public relations were an instinct. A sense of public relations is not an instinct. It is not a taste nor an intuitive understanding. A sense of public relations is the product of strenuous and thorough going training in theory and practice. It is based on the same technical and professional work as most other fields of professional knowledge."

Watch Word, "What Can I Do to Help Win the Peace?" Jun 1945.

ELB discusses the role of the individual in achieving world peace.

"Here are some of the things you can do, individually or in groups," he says. "Organize your community to express itself to Congressmen, Senators, the President and Cabinet, and also to the local press and radio. Get the social forces in your community to take up the battle for a sound peace church, commerce and industry, educators, the professions, social service, religion. Talk to leaders in these groups, get them to act. Dramatize your meetings and other events so that they will be interesting enough to the radio and the press associations to

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carry and, in turn, influence people in other parts of the country."

Wellesley College News. "Bernays Urges College Students to Help Create Peaceful World," Nov 11, 1946.

ELB discusses the role of college students in world affairs. "The most impressive and important task that lies before college students today is to assume active responsibility immediately in the affairs of the world. To help create and maintain world peace is the main job of every college student. Either you will succeed in making peace and live in a good world or you will sit back with your textbooks and watch the world crumble. If you refuse to work at this most important of all assignments you may inherit chaos."

Wilson Library Bulletin. "The Library as a Leader in Modern Democracy." Vol. 23, No. 6, Feb 1949. In this article, ELB highlights historical developments emphasizing the importance of books to civilization; stresses the "great responsibility and privilege ... of American librarians [who], as custodians of the intellectual arsenals of democracy, . . . must and can assume a role of leadership in safeguarding and advancing our democratic heritage." He declares: "Libraries are no longer museums or static collections of books. They are today a major social force with a mandate from society to condition the attitudes and actions of its members, and to maintain, strengthen, and advance our democracy. The antiquated idea that the library is nothing more than a repository of books must take its place with the antiquated notion that medicine is only for curing disease rather than preventing it. . . ." ELB suggests three ways by which "the library can take this leadership" by (a) exercising "editorial judgment in selecting its books," taking "into consideration not only the past but the living issues of the present"; by (b) "issuing lists of books [which are] creative and critical guides in the major fields of modern thought"; and by (c) librarians' "study [of] the available manuals on the many different kinds of adult education in America, and [application] ... to the library as a social force . . . [which can become] a dynamic activator for maintaining and developing democracy in the United States . . . since librarians are in a strategic position to develop effective forms of preventive and creative education. . . ."

. "The Library Inquiry Is Not Over." Vol.

25, No. 3, Nov 1950.

Editor's Note says: "At the A.L.A. Regional Conference in Atlantic City in October 1949, Edward L. Bernays made some suggestions on 'How to Make

the Library a Dynamic Force for Social Action,' which later appeared in the March 1950 Wilson Library Bulletin. So we asked Mr. Bernays, whom Time has called 'U. S. Publicist Number One,' to be more specific. 'Now that we have the findings of the Public Library Inquiry,' we asked him, 'what is to be done next?' Here is recipe for a blueprint of action." A footnote describes ELB as "Counsel on Public Relations; Adjunct Professor of Public Re

lations, New York University; Author, Crystallizing Public Opinion."

ELB's article analyzes the \$200,000 seven-volume survey of the library field the Public Library Inquiry made with funds granted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York to the Social Science Research Council. This library inquiry, ELB says, "has created awareness both among librarians and laymen that the library occupies an extremely important place in the American pattern; and that its future is fraught with the uncertainties which most institutions in American life face today unless somebody does something about them." The survey also makes us realize "that the library is in a position where its future is dependent upon public trends, attitudes and actions."

ELB urges that more needs to be done about this survey. He suggests a four-point program of action to be carried out under the leadership of the American Library Association: 1. a clearcut outline of the objectives to be accomplished; 2. the strategy where by they would be accomplished; 3. themes to be used with the various publics to accomplish the objectives; 4. the organizations necessary to accomplish them, whether it be a subdivision of the A.L.A. or an outside group. "Only a broad planned social engineering approach to the problem will safeguard and develop libraries for America."

Woman's Press. "A Publicist Says the Y Is

Needed More than Ever." Nov 1946.

ELB sets forth the need to raise \$2,000,000 and explains how to raise it by enlightening group leaders and the public, pp. 7-8.

Yale Review. "A Symbolic Career." Vol. XXX, No.

In his review of "John D. Rockefeller" by Allan Nevins, ELB discusses changes in popular attitudes toward Rockefeller. "The change in the popular attitude towards Mr. Rockefeller came after his retirement in 1899. His son John D., Jr., who had broad ideas and understanding of what public responsibility meant, brought a new influence into the corporation. It was through his influence, according to Mr. Nevins, that many of the old practices were changed and that publicity and public relations men were effectively employed. Basic alterations in company practices and policies as well as in the public attitude resulted."

Published Talks by
EDWARD L. BERNAYS

Advanced Management. "How to Build Industrial Peace and Prevent Strife." A Talk Delivered as a Public Service at the Third Annual Educational Conference of the United Automobile-Aircraft-Agricultural Implement Workers of America in Cleveland. Vol. XII, No. 4, Dec 1947, pp. 154-158.

An editorial footnote says this talk "expresses Mr.

Bernays' belief that industrial relations would profit

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if labor unions carried out effective public relations policies and practices."

ELB says: "Management, workers and the general public must understand the workings of our economic system. They must apply the new science of humanics. This science attempts to learn the cause of industrial conflict and to discover ways to cure the disease. Labor should assume part of this educational responsibility." ELB suggests that the UAW follow three additional programs with this in view. "(1) Make the public understand the value to the country of sound unions and mature union leadership. (2) Make the employer understand the value of unions to him, and make him realize that he needs

to apply the science of humanics. This will benefit employer, public and worker alike. (3) Make the worker understand our industrial system and his relationship to it." The American public, according to ELB, ought to have a great deal more factual information on union activity than it now has.

He suggests that the UAW can plan the following five-point program to inform the public about unions: "(1) What is a union? How does it function? This should give the basic story of union organization, its history and development, structure and internal government of unions, etc.; (2) the educational and welfare activities of unions, including the labor press, union educational activities, vocational training, labor banking and insurance, etc.; (3) the facts about collective bargaining; (4) the facts about labor disputes, how they arise and what are the mechanisms by which disputes are adjusted under union-employer agreements; (5) a campaign to define terms commonly used in labor-management discussions, such as wage awards, work load, work sharing, etc."

ELB also suggests an eight-point program for educating employers: "(1) to the place of the union in our system; (2) to the existence of groups like the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, the Society for the Advancement of Management and the American Academy of Political and Social Science which are interested in studying and furthering human relations; (3) to stimulate further research by industrial relations schools like those at Cornell, Princeton and Harvard; (4) to carry on technological research to improve working conditions; (5) to develop new approaches to the industrial relations problem; (6) to the importance of intelligent, honest, unbiased industrial relations personnel; (7) to encourage responsible leadership among the unions; (8) to support housing programs, civil liberties, sound international relations and other programs to strengthen democracy."

American College Public Relations Association,

"Public Relations for Higher Education: A Challenge to Our Colleges and Universities." A talk before the District II Winter Conference, Hotel Biltmore, N. Y.: Jan 9, 1948. Published by American College Public Relations Association. 10pp.

Analysis of public relations for colleges and universi

ties with recommendations: "Once institutions of

higher learning have, as a group and as individual units, determined their goals it seems to me that every other action involving public relationships will flow naturally and logically therefrom. The public relations strategy of higher education, its themes, its organization, its planning, timing and tactics will be more realistic, and it will be able to achieve those goals much more effectively."

To determine goals, college presidents were questioned and their answers analyzed. After analyzing their replies, ELB recommended a program of action. First, "Administrators of colleges and universities should gather together in a conference to agree on a definition of public relations in its broadest terms." Second, "Individual universities should define clear-cut goals for themselves and put them in writing." Third, "University associations and the individual institution should undertake research to appraise public understanding of their goals. Further than this, universities and colleges may have to revise some of their attitudes and actions so as to reach the goals of higher education. . . . An approach of this kind to the problem of integrating the university's relations with its various publics considers both the general and the specific situation in which higher education finds itself. It should enable educational institutions not only to carry on successfully, but to forge ahead boldly and assert the intelligent leadership that is so necessary to our democracy today and in the future."

American College Publicity Association,

"Higher Education A Public Relations Problem." An address June 1936, in Boston, and published by the Association in the interests of higher education, 1936.

In this address, ELB discusses the public relations problems of colleges and universities. "Before we can tackle this problem of public relations and higher education, we must know what the objectives of higher education are, for it is a fundamental in dealing with public relations, that we must have clearly defined, just what it is we are projecting to the public and yet, how often do we really get a formulation of policy and of objectives as expressed by uni

versity presidents:" ELB says: "Before higher education can undertake its program of public relations it must satisfy itself regarding its own objectives. . . . The public relations counsel of a college or university needs an entirely new orientation about himself and his place in the scheme of things. . . . After you know your objectives, analyze public attitudes about your educational institution. The public relations officer of a university must understand this problem thoroughly and formulate a plan for action based on a knowledge of public opinion towards higher education and specifically, his kind of higher education. . . . The next step is to educate the public regarding the function of his university in higher education." To do this effectively, the use of symbols is suggested. "The symbols are short cuts to thinking to understanding. Leadership rests on the ability to understand, to interpret and to utilize

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symbols. . . . Political strategists understand these realities. The most powerful national leaders of today Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, Stalin in Russia know the value of symbols. . . . These men realize that their struggle for the public's interest, the public's attention, and the public's support, is in essence a struggle for response to symbols. ... In the last analysis, an intelligent understanding of symbols, their meanings, and their proper utilization is vital to the continued success of education and educational institutions, as regards their relations with the public. . . . This use of symbols is an important matter to all of you. . . . Your higher education must be placed before the public using symbols the public understands."

American Hatter. "800 Hatmen Dine." Jan 1935.

p. 25.

In addition to his suggestions as to public relations methods and techniques at the Ninth Annual Hat Trade Dinner ... at the Commodore Hotel, New York, ELB is quoted at length as having stressed "the need for the industry's adapting itself to new conditions. . . . Mr. Bernays also said that "This means that as a primary consideration, you, as an

industry, must study your relation to the world you live in. You must know what the public's attitude is toward you and your product, why the attitude is what it is, what the motives are of the public to act as it does, what those motives can lead to in terms of your business and your future. The first step ... is to see and study the motives of your public in relationship to your industry. The second step is to take the results of that study and research and develop recommendations for action. ... I think you all recognize that within this world and within this country today, unless your every cause is definitely part of the public interest, there is little opportunity of its surviving."

American Petroleum Institute, "Public Relations and the Oil Industry." Paper presented at Fourteenth Annual Meeting, at Chicago, 111. Oct 26, 1933.

ELB said: "The oil industry has considerable to live down. . . . New methods must be adopted to meet changing conditions of our new epoch ... to counteract ill will from the past; the oil industry must devise extraordinary means of informing the public about its actual constructive policies and actions in the present and future."

American Town Meeting of the Air. "Propaganda Asset or Liability in Democracy." American Town Meeting of the Air, Series 2, No. 22, N. Y: American Book Company. Apr 15, 1937, 31pp.

Participants in this broadcast from the Town Hall, New York, over the NBC Blue Network, under the auspices of The League for Political Education, Inc. and the National Broadcasting Company, were ELB, Anne O'Hare McCormick and Harwood L. Childs.

ELB said: "Propaganda, like medicine or law, can be socially used or abused. Under present day condi

tions, the usefulness of propaganda makes it a vital asset to the democracy. Propaganda is the voice of the people in the democracy of today because it gives everyone an opportunity to present his point of view. Fascist or Communist societies have no alternate propagandas; they must accept the official

propaganda of those in power. Freedom of propaganda is as important to our democracy as our other civil liberties freedom of religion, press, speech and assembly. Propaganda provides an open forum for the people in which opposing ideas are presented for the judgment of the public. Propaganda enables social development to take place more reasonably than it otherwise would in a democracy. . . . Women's suffrage, the effective battles against tuberculosis and diabetes, were hastened by propaganda. . . . There is no secret about sound propaganda. The propagandist pleads his case before the court of public opinion, as does the lawyer before the court of law. Public and social service institutions as well as private industrialists must use propaganda to achieve their purpose."

ELB then points out that propaganda is used by social movements, great foundations, industry, minority groups, food growers and distributors.

Babson Institute of Business Administration.

" How American Business Can Sell the American Way of Life to the American People" Address delivered at the Fourth Annual Conference of Businessmen and Educators, Babson Institute of Business Administration. Babson Park, Mass: Babson Institute Press, 1950. 15pp.

An editorial note explains that ELB's talk was the main address at the evening session of the Fourth Annual Conference of Businessmen and Educators, attended by 1,000 members. The talk was followed by a panel discussion participated in by ELB; U. S. Senator Owen Brewster from Maine; Carl A. Gray, manufacturer; William Green, president, A. F. of L. ; Prof. Joseph O. Hirschfelder, chemist and physicist, University of Wisconsin; Clyde K. M. Kluckhohn, Professor of Anthropology, Harvard University; Kenneth E. Oberholtzer, Superintendent of Schools, Denver, Colorado; and William G. Saltonstall, Principal, Phillips Exeter Academy.

ELB's talk, the editorial note adds, was broadcast by the NBC network and by WNYC, New York. The panel discussion was broadcast by the Yankee network, WNYC and the Mutual network.

In his talk, ELB says that American business has spent fabulous sums of money since 1935 to sell "the American way of life" to the American people. Has business succeeded? And if not, how can it succeed in

doing so? Quoting business leaders who have recently complained of industry's failure to sell itself to the public despite vast expenditures for that purpose, ELB says the trouble is that business is following an antiquated pattern in identifying the American way of life solely with machinery and products, instead of primarily with the human and social needs of the American people. "Business," he says, "has identified the American way of life principally with tech-

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nology, machinery and living standards" to the exclusion of other factors and has therefore been selling it "like soap, toothpaste or breakfast food."

While business has equated the American way with tools, technology and production, ELB continues, large sections of the American people have equated it with "the social aspects of living, economic security, psychological security, status, self assertion." The present situation "requires a complete reorientation of business thought and action to an emphasis not alone on factories, machinery, markets and products, but also on the worker," he adds. "When our business structure, our producing machinery satisfies the social needs of workers and citizens, our problem of selling will be solved."

ELB quotes Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Electric and Bank of Manhattan executives, and the report of The Ford Foundation trustees to show that this attitude is spreading and that "many business leaders are developing a new dynamic concept of their role in American society." This, he adds, may lead to a change in the public relations of business "based on the acceptance by business of all its social responsibilities. "

In conclusion ELB urges business to attempt selling the American way of life to the American people by concentrating on: 1. the extension of employee economic security; 2. the extension of employee psychological security; 3. the extension of activities giving self-respect and status to the employee; 4. activities aimed at giving employees and their children opportunities for advancement; and 5. active participation by the corporation in the life

and growth of the community.

The Bankers Magazine. "A Program for Public

Relations." N. Y: Oct 1936, pp. 349-350.

Editorial Note: "In an address before the Massachusetts Bankers Association, Mr. Bernays who specializes in public relations, offered this five point program as a means of restoring favorable public opinion of the banks:

"First, the old conception of public relations must give to the new conception. . . . The banks must recognize that their interest is also the public's interest, that everything they do is a public function as well as being part of private business. . . . The second step is analysis self-analysis and analysis of public thoughts and desires about banks. . . . The banks must know not only economic and financial conditions, but also public attitudes. A survey of public opinion toward banks should be made before any plan is developed. . . . The third step is organization of the banks for the economic education of the public. ... In this process of public education the banker can well take a lesson from the statesman and politician. . . . He must use the sound methods of public education that other groups educational, social, political have used effectively. His program must be in the public interest. The fourth step is a definition and redefinition, in your public education, of the simple, common symbols of banking that have lost their old meanings in

the last six years. . . . The public has listened to all kind of wild and extravagant ideas about banking. . . . Sound ideas about banking should now be placed before the public in symbols which the public understands. . . . Lastly, the banker himself must assume in the community the place of leadership that he deserves and that the American system demands of him. . . . He must assert his leadership in projects not associated with banking, as well as in banking. His public will respond to him and to banking if he becomes a leader."

Boston Conference on Retail Distribution.

1930, 1936, 1942. See Addenda, Items 2, 3, 4.

Cooper Union Forum. "Private Interest and Public Responsibility." Delivered in the 1938-1939 Forum Series of Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, Department of Social Philosophy, N. Y: Broadcast over WQXR. 12pp.

In this talk, ELB discusses private interest and public responsibility of the groups that make up America's economic and social life. He points out that private interest and public responsibility are changing concepts in a rapidly changing world; indicates the various elements, historical and contemporary, which have brought this country to the present crisis; urges first, reconsideration of old attitudes, then altered actions toward these concepts of private interest and public responsibility.

"Interdependence and converging of the private interest and public responsibility are recognized today as an integral part of our democratic system," says ELB. "The public today asks the groups of our society to examine their consciences, their attitudes and their actions to find out whether they really conform to the new demands made upon them by a society in which democratization of our institutions is taking place. Those desires reflect a world-wide movement towards what Alvin Johnson has called 'equalitarianism*' in all countries where might, coercion, censorship and removal of civil liberties have not suppressed the desires of the people. The movement which has found expression in the secret ballot, in general suffrage and in representative parliaments, demands a lessening of the insistence on private rights, interests and prerogatives and a greater insistence on the rights of the common man," always within the framework of the free, competitive system, civil liberties and our democratic form of government. ELB also warns against "selling our liberties in exchange for our desire for security." ELB then outlines activities in which groups and individuals can participate in order to create converging lines of private interest and public responsibility. These are: 1. Codes of ethics and practice voluntarily entered into and accepted by industries and trades through their associations. 2. Similar codes carried out by the professions. 3. The public relations profession. 4. Pressure groups of various kinds which function within democracy to bring about greater public responsibility of private in-

terests. 5. Enforcement of public responsibility within an industry by heads of that industry. 6. Laws denning private and public responsibility.

Fashion Group. "Fashion Propaganda." Reprint, N. Y: Mar 1936. 10pp.

ELB said: "I have tried, in this talk, to indicate to you five things. First, you must look on fashion as something which we can affect and modify. Second, you must consider fashion just as you would consider any other industrial phenomenon in which competition plays a major and a vital part. Third, you must see that the success of any fashion, within limits, is to be reduced to a battle of symbols for that fashion's supremacy. Fourth, you must be prepared to fight fashion's battles on a hundred fronts. And last of all, you must arm yourselves for the waging of those battles, with every weapon and with strategy that modern propaganda stands ready to thrust into your hands," p. 10. This talk was given October 30, 1935.

Financial Advertisers Association. "Proceedings . . . Twentieth Annual Convention." Atlantic City, N. J. Sept 9-10-11, 1935. 339pp.
Address by ELB to the convention on the theme of "Molding Public Opinion," pp. 56-65.

An analysis of the public relations problems of financial institutions with a three-point public relations action program: (1) The public must learn that it needs the banks and cannot do without them in whatever setup there is; (2) The public must be educated in the meaning and importance of banks; words expressing the entire function and nature of financial institutions, must be re-defined and re-clarified so that every member of the public will have a clear idea of the value of the word symbols that go to make up the bank; (3) Activities must be undertaken to re-establish banks and bankers in the public mind through their own deeds as community leaders.

"How to Remove the Public's Antagonism toward Financial Institutions." A talk delivered

at the Convention, Atlantic City, N. J: Sept 11, 1935. 14pp.

Reprint of above.

House Magazine Institute. "Fifty Million Readers Can't Be Wrong: The Truth about House Magazines." A talk given before the Institute, an editorial association of industrial publication editors of the eastern United States. 1949. 8pp. A quantitative and qualitative analysis of company magazines with suggestions for their improvement. "If the company magazine is to accomplish its purpose; if it is really going to be a means of communication between the company and its employees; if it is to be a morale builder which creates better understanding between management and men; above all, if it is to be an effective instrument in advancing the American way it can only do so by speaking to its readers about the essential, paramount things which concern them."

ELB reaches this conclusion after the study for

which he "wrote the presidents of 100 leading American corporations picked at random and listed in the Business Executives and Corporation Encyclopedia. Among them were: General Foods Corporation, Burlington Mills, National Cash Register, . . . Bausch & Lomb Optical Co., Armour and Company, Pillsbury Mills, Inc., Allegheny Ludlum Steel Corporation, Rexall Drug Company, Chrysler Corporation, The Celotex Corporation, Transcontinental & Western Air, Inc., Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company, and Ford Motor Company. A wide range of products was covered by [the] correspondents foods, textiles, drugs, machinery, steel, aircraft, optical supplies, tobacco, finance, utilities, construction materials, rubber, glass, and other fields of industrial action in 21 states." ELB says, "I told them I was studying house organs and their relationship to management, ... a new field which required thorough analysis in order to be of greater use to management. Would they tell me about their experience with their own house organs? Would they evaluate the impact of these magazines on the publics for which they are intended? I added that I would try to chart a course for the future which might be of practical use to management, provided management told me (1) the purpose which the

house organ was designed to fulfill in their organization; (2) whether the house organ met that purpose; (3) what its present achievements and shortcomings were. My letter of inquiry received an almost 50 per cent response. Of the 100 companies, I heard from 49. Seventy per cent of the 49 had house organs. Thirty-two firms answered our questionnaire in detail. It is significant that 14 of these letters, or 44 per cent were signed by top management president, vice president, chairman of the Board, or other officer. This indicates a genuine interest in house organs by top management. Eighteen of the replies, or 56 per cent, came from public relations directors and editors." In order "to evaluate the replies against a broader background," ELB presents selected "facts and figures on the development of house organs in the U.S." He discusses the replies given by the corporations to each question in an itemized summary of high points in attitudes and facts revealed, synthesizes these findings as to the broad picture, before offering his particular suggestions for improvement, bolstered from specific examples.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces. "Public Relations." The Washington, D. C. Short Course, No. 2. Jun 24, 1941. 16pp.

In this address, delivered six months before Pearl Harbor, ELB discusses "public relations during the Great War in Germany, England and the United States, the changes in psychological approach and technical developments since 1917, and such activities today in the three countries."

The talk analyzes in detail propaganda techniques during and after World War I and suggests a public relations program for the United States designed to maintain high morale.

"Our people have already provided billions of dol-

lars for physical armies and armaments. Through their elected representatives they have voted for the first peacetime selective service army in the life of the nation. If we are to be fully prepared for what ever may come, the people must become equally convinced that psychological ramparts in this coun

try must be as strong as our physical ramparts. Such beliefs must be founded on greater economic and psychological security for the individual on a strengthening of democracy and of faith in it. Such belief based on an understanding of our aims will express itself in a will to victory and in sacrifice. Such belief will insure an even flow of supplies to the army from the industrial plants of the nation."

Urging "a balanced public relations effort" to achieve this goal, ELB suggests: "The Government needs a psychological general staff to advise on all major questions of morale in industry, civilian life, army and navy. This staff would provide the soundest available knowledge for building morale and for psychological warfare and by having on top the ablest technicians, would speed up the entire morale building processes. Such a Morale Commission in its field of psychological defenses can take its place on a parity with the General Staff in physical defenses."

ELB sums up his proposed public relations program for the Government as follows: "First, a Morale Commission of experts, advisers, to draw up a master plan for morale and psychological warfare; second, a program to strengthen faith in democracy; third, a program to strengthen democracy; and fourth, a program to sell the army to the people and the people to the army."

. "The Mobilization of Public Opinion."

Talk before the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D. C.: Publication Number L48-164, The Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Jun 14, 1948. 13pp.

A survey and analysis of the techniques and media for mobilizing public opinion in a national emergency with a three point suggested action program: "(1) ... A central organization [for mobilizing public opinion], manned by personnel skilled in the techniques of mass communication, and headed by a director appointed by the President. This director must, of course, be an expert in the field of mass persuasion . . . [and] would function in coordination with a committee of Cabinet officers. (2) Sufficient authority must be vested in the director to enable him to avoid duplication and even competition in the spheres of policy, strategy and methods. Just as a commanding general runs his armies subject to the authority of the General Staff,

so must this director guide his centralized activity, aimed at engineering the consent of the public . . . [not through] control or coercion, not thought control . . . [but through] . . . persuasion and information. (3) The director will naturally coordinate his strategy and methods with those of the Armed Forces and of all other civilian governmental agencies. . . . Ideas in news and pictures would be put

before the public continually through press associations, radio, motion pictures, news syndicates, magazines, books, television. The truth would be used; lies, distortion, twisted ideas are unsound and dangerous. Limiting factors on the effectiveness of . . . activity would be of course events beyond . . . control, . . . the extent to which the communications network can penetrate into the minds of the people, the expertness with which the work is carried

"General structure of the organization . . . would follow [that] . . . of the Committee of Public Information in World War I and the Office of War Information in World War II. But with this difference, that the organization would not be regarded by government leaders as a nuisance or a sop to public curiosity but as a vital part of our defense and that it would receive the support and expert guidance that it requires. A wide variety of activities would be covered. . . . It might be divided into three sections: administrative, domestic and foreign. In the domestic section many subordinate agencies would be at work. There would be a foreign language news paper division, a picture division, a film division, a pictorial publicity division, a speaking division, a syndicate feature division, a women's war work division and supervisory censorship division. Tomorrow, such an operation might be of necessity more complex, cover a wider variety of efforts."

Basic to the suggestion of this action program is ELB's premise that "an effectively mobilized public opinion is our most important strength in war . . . [during which, for mobilization] . . . resources are four-fold: men, money, materiel and public opinion. The first three can be stockpiled in advance. . . . Public opinion can be stockpiled on a long time approach, but not by warehousing or training, since it is an intangible. The long-time approach is to change

the objective surroundings of our people . . . continuously to strengthen democracy, through government and private groups, furthering constructive social programs that will ensure psychological and economic security of the people. The short-time approach to be used only after a fighting war has started, is by presenting significant symbols, words and pictures to our people, through a government controlled bureau, using the campaign drive method of persuasion and information. . ."

In this 5000-word lecture, considerations and methods necessary to the development of both short-time and long-time approaches are discussed and defined including, for instance, an examination of the nature of public opinion, morale and patriotism the psychological factors involved in "static" as well as "dynamic" public opinion, ascertainable through research-information and knowledge.

In these connections, among other things, ELB says: ". . . it is impossible to give more than the briefest suggestion of the psychological factors that go into the making of public opinion. A great deal of information is available, and more knowledge must be gained. However, these factors should never be overlooked in forming policies or programs, or in

carrying them out. . . . It is necessary to appraise [as an example] the mechanism and force of rationalization, that familiar process by which people suppress, even to themselves, the real reasons that lead them to make decisions, and invent instead plausible reasons that satisfy them. We have to know the difference between rationalizations and the underlying motivations, if we are successfully to appeal to the public for support. Identification with group aims is another factor that needs constructive consideration. Conformity to mass pressure is powerful in making public opinion. So is compensation for the many economic, social and cultural frustrations of present day life. . . . We know that a man's morale is good when he acts on his belief that he has some thing worth fighting for, when he merges his interests with those of the group. ... It may result from recognition that society is functioning in his behalf. He will feel this is true if he has psychological and economic security. . . . The ego satisfaction that men derive from active identification with a group is so powerful as a morale factor that it should be

carefully studied and fostered. . . . We must ensure that what we fight for will survive a war. Our war aims must not endanger our national traditions of freedom, equality and orderly justice. These aims must take the interests of the people into account; . . . must recognize the kind of world Americans want. For example, . . . expanding freedom, economic, educational and social opportunities and full civil rights, loosely, what we call a better life for all. . . . Public opinion should be based solidly on facts and emotions, on truth honorably presented, on justice of the cause, on an understanding of a real and immediate danger and faith of the people in one another. These facts must ... be backed by the realities of the good life in this country. . . . Research should precede any approach to a problem of this kind, . . . should tell us whose attitudes need to be intensified, whose need to be converted to our point of view, whose point of view should be negated. Such a research discloses the relative public awareness of the situation at the time, agreement or disagreement with our war objectives, the extent of the public's determination to achieve these objectives, its belief in our achievements thus far, its awareness of the size of the task. It tells us its confidence in various leaders, in the armed forces, in the allies, in the veracity and completeness of the news, its satisfaction with the progress and unity of the country as far as farmers, Negroes, foreign born, Protestants, Catholics, Jews, labor, business and other sections of the public are concerned. . . . [Also,] research in the widely differing educational levels of our population. . . . The problem of presenting the basic underlying facts on which understanding is to be based is a most difficult one therefore. . . . We must know the extent of the network of communications available to us at the specific time [If we are effectively to deal with the people through symbols that penetrate all the media]. . . . We cannot depend on intuition or inspiration for ideas. The ideas we use as themes must be based on a thorough-going

research on what people respond to at the time. . . . The American people are loyal to certain basic beliefs . . . [which] act as rallying points for our loyalty [around which] public opinion may ... be rallied. . . . Semantics, the science of words, and readability, the levels of reading acceptance, are

other research matters of primary consideration.
... [But] as words are used to express ideas, so
deeds are developed to dramatize ideas ... [al
though] one more job of research is finding in ad
vance what cooperation may be secured from the
communications channels, and this includes adver
tising of course. ... [From] a number of serious
studies ... made of the machinery set up ... [in]
World Wars I and II, ... the main lesson to be
derived ... is this: that psychological warfare at
home is an integral and vital part of any total war
effort [and] ... must not be underestimated."

. "Public Information by the Government."

Washington, D. C: Publication No. L49-47.

The Industrial College of the Armed Forces,

Washington, D. C. Nov 19, 1948.

Outlines the "public relations or information and
morale program ... as a way of insuring that,
when and if a war emergency arises in the United
States, the people will be as well prepared in morale
as the armed forces are in manpower and materiel."

ELB lists three "indispensable basic factors"
which must be taken into account in "any basic
plan for building the morale of the people" and "pre
paring the people of this country for an emergency."
The basic assumptions are: "it is necessary to de
velop and maintain maximum security with maxi
mum liberty; the government and the people are
one; the loyalties of all sections of the government
and the nation must be focused on a common goal."

ELB then outlines the following seven-point pub
lic relations program: "(1) make full use of research
as a basis of policy and practices of government in
dealing with the public; (2) develop a well-organized
peacetime public information bureau; (3) let the
government deliberately and overtly encourage free
public discussion in peace time; (4) in its whole
public relations and informational policy, the gov
ernment should emphasize not words alone, but
deeds; (5) institute a continuing series of conferences
and discussions between government and leaders of

the important groups in our society, including farmers, labor, commerce, industry and the armed forces; (6) add higher formal education to the training program of the armed forces in peace time; (7) develop a more democratic army in order to give men and officers greater community of interest in working toward a common goal."

ELB concludes: "The program I am suggesting is predicated on our history, on our experience as a nation and on the science of human relations as developed by the various social sciences; and it preserves our fundamental principles of security and individual liberty. Besides, it is based on the military law that he fights best who most deeply believes in his faith. History has shown that armies built and

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supported by the faith of the people are the most effective."

"The Importance of Public Opinion in

Economic Mobilization. 1 ' Talk before the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D. C. Oct 11, 1949.

ELB says: "Because national action in a democracy depends on public opinion, we need a new approach to economic and military mobilization, and to conduct warfare. This requires expert knowledge of mass and individual psychology, as well as expert knowledge of the techniques of communication. You are giving serious attention to this vital matter. This shows the Armed Forces no longer believe, as they often did in the past, that technology is everything and that public opinion can be handled casually through handouts and headlines which glamorize this or that general, this or that army in the public mind. . . .

"Mobilization, then, must be divided into two major areas of action. One is the mobilization of men, money and materials for the creation of physical armies and resources in case of war. . . . The second form of mobilization is ideological. ... I believe it is possible to stockpile public opinion for economic

mobilization for victory as it is to stockpile things if we go at it in the right way and on a planned basis. . . . But we must realize at the outset that public opinion cannot be expected to depend on words alone; it depends upon deeds as well. The building public opinion for economic mobilization must be based, to be sure, on facts, on truth, on the justice of our cause, on an understanding by the people of the danger our country faces, and on the faith of the people in one another. But it must also be backed by realities, by the achievement of a good life within the country. Efforts directed to giving the people the psychological and economic security they desire in the United States, if successful, should eventuate in a vast reserve of favorable public opinion. . . . This long-range approach, by improving the mental and physical health, the economic security and education of the American people, and by eliminating discrimination, promotes high morale. . . . Now as to the second approach, the wartime approach ... In such an approach, a central government-controlled bureau presents significant word and picture symbols to our people. Such a bureau would use the methods practiced successfully in two world wars to mobilize public opinion. . . . Only experts in the field of public opinion, men who are deeply versed in its skills and deeply rooted in our democratic tradition can give us the kind of organization and techniques which will educate and mobilize the public for a national emergency while maintaining our democratic pattern intact."

Institute on World Control of Atomic Energy.

" National Committee on Atomic Information."

Report on the Institute on Atomic Information.

Vol. 1, No. 8, Aug 19, 1946, pp. 1-11.

The Institute on World Control of Atomic Energy,

convoked by the National Committee on Atomic

Information and its seventy sponsoring organizations, was held in Washington on July 15-16. Speakers were: Hon. Henry A. Wallace, John Hancock, Clark Eichelberger, ELB and others. ELB said in part: "The way to dispel fear is to supply the people with the knowledge and facts the experts

have. This must be done in terms the people will both understand, and be willing to act upon. The people will become articulate when they know the facts. They will then squarely support one of the plans proposed for internationalizing the atomic bomb. That is the people's role. The tremendous expansion of communications in the United States has given America the world's most highly organized network for spreading ideas." ELB recommended planned action for disseminating information about the atomic bomb so that they could "be sure your material fits the public you are interested in reaching." International Association of Milk Dealers.

"Better Public Understanding for the Fluid Milk Industry." Proceedings, 27th Annual Convention, Oct 15-17, 1934. pp. 215-230.

An analysis of the public relations problems of the fluid milk industry. "Public relations must be considered, first, from the standpoint of the industry; and, second, from the standpoint of the unit within the industry."

Analyzing public attitudes toward the milk industry, ELB says the public thinks "the spread between the price the farmer gets and the price the distributor gets is too great" and that "the farmer and the buyer of milk are unjustly treated."

The milk industry can do what other industries have done "carry on public relations activities and create better understanding for the fluid milk industry."

For this purpose, "new methods must be adopted to meet changed and changing conditions of our new epoch" and "to counteract ill-will from the past, industry must devise extraordinary means of informing the public about its actual constructive policies and actions in the present and future."

ELB then recommends a four-point public relations program for the fluid milk industry: "(1) A formulation of the objectives. (2) A scientific analysis of the public, including not only an estimate of what the public thinks and expects of you, but attention to where public opinion is veering. (3) A study of this analysis with a view to making necessary changes in your policies, products or service to conform to public desires and making whatever changes are advisable. (4) A continuous projection and interpretation of your industry through all possible media in terms of what the public is thinking

and demanding."

The Journal of Marketing. See Addenda, Item 13.

Mail Advertising Service Association. "Direct Mail: A Challenge to Research in Humanics." An address delivered before the Association, Twenty-Eighth Annual Luncheon, New York, N.Y.: Raymond Service, Inc., May 6, 1947.

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ELB reports on survey about direct mail he conducted among leaders like Nicholas Samstag and Frank Pratt of Time, Boyce Morgan of Kiplinger's, Simon & Schuster, McGraw-Hill, Penn Mutual Life Insurance, etc. Quoting these on method and formula, ELB cites their suggestions for making direct mail more effective: lower costs in production and postage; greater accuracy, more careful selection of lists; improved letter content; improved government service lower postage, greater speed in handling ; ELB himself suggests users of direct mail "must undertake research in two highly important fields of human knowledge: first, the art and science of communication by mail; second, research into the nature of human beings." Under first head, he urges research, aided by colleges, universities and foundations, in language, semantics and symbols; under second head, research in social sciences.

ELB pointed out that "directed mail covers many aspects of communications and of human behavior. It involves the whole process of engineering the consent of those whom it is trying to influence in a highly competitive civilization. It should receive the benefits of the most scientific methods in order to carry out its social function most effectively."

Condensed in Advertiser's Digest, Vol. 12, No. 12, Dec 1949, pp. 20-23.

Market Research. "Public Opinion and Public Relations," Vol. 8, No. 2, Feb 1938, pp. 11-14. Talk before the American Statistical Association, Atlantic City, NJ: Dec 28, 1937. ELB defines public relations as "interpreting the

public to the individual and the individual to the public ... a process of altering existing alignments, ... of effecting a change for the better integration of the two elements concerned." The public relations worker must "find out the present status of the individual attempting to effect change" and "the present configuration of his public." He needs scientific charting by statistics, economic measurements, individual and mass psychology and other social sciences.

Discussing use of statistical methods in public relations, ELB says statistics can in certain cases lay down the pattern for public relations activities in advance, gauge trend lines, indicate the amount of effort to be applied, determine the effectiveness of a public relations effort, strengthen the ideas advanced in propaganda, employ the "tyranny of numbers" for socially useful purposes.

Merchants' Association of New York. "The New York World's Fair A Symbol for Democracy." Address of Edward L. Bernays, member of World's Fair Committee of The Merchants' Association of New York at Luncheon under Auspices of The Association's Members' Council at Hotel Pennsylvania. Issued by The Merchants' Association of New York. Apr 7, 1937. 9pp.

In this talk, ELB discusses the basic theme of the World's Fair of 1939 and how to develop and expand it. After Grover Whalen's statement that the Fair

would look forward to the task of " 'Building the world of tomorrow,' " ELB says: "In the last seven years, many of our old values, through economic forces, have been deflated. The world is in a chaotic state. It needs leadership. To revitalize the relationship of our system to the common man is a contribution the Fair must make. The Fair must be made to show how our democracy works, how it can be maintained. . . . Let us sell America to Americans. . . . How can this be carried out effectively? . . . The Fair must relate the things which are shown, to what they have done for us as individuals, and as a system in the last 150 years; to what they will continue to do for us. Let us by all means picture the activities of America with concrete examples coal mines, copper mines, assembly lines, shoe factories

all these. I am all for the concrete, the vivid, the actual reality. But this is not enough. . . . Such a Fair must show graphically the interrelationship of the various groups that make up our life the relationship of private industry and private enterprise to government and to the people; the relationship of farm and industry; the relationship of men and management. . . . Give them these facts at the Fair, graphically displayed in words, actions, displays, through every form of thought conveyor, and we can depend upon the people to make the soundest choice possible. . . . Not to strike, throughout all these great efforts, one dominant and responsive key note of vital interest to everyone early in the Fair, that will identify the coming Fair with the hopes and aspirations of every man, is to lose one of the most potent effects that the Fair can produce, and to lose, at the same time, the highest potential of interest and success the Fair can achieve. Not only will such a point of view modify the attitudes and actions of those who come to the Fair, but in its development, it will tend to crystallize the attitudes and actions of all those associated with the Fair exhibitors, key participants. All New York will be ready to contribute to such an end. New York represents the very democracy that is America."

Museum News. "The Museum's Job in Wartime," Vol. XX, No. 20, Apr 15, 1943, pp. 11-12.

Reprint of an address delivered at Annual Meeting of the American Association of Museums at Williamsburg, May 18-19, 1942.

ELB says: "The exigencies of total warfare demand that every institution in the democracy re-examine, re-evaluate itself to find its place in the democracy under these wartime conditions, and to fit itself more effectively into the peace that will follow the war.

Total warfare today has three fronts the economic, the military, and the psychological. . . . The museums of the country, whether they are art, or historical or natural history museums, can be used as a stirring background for emotion, factual evidence, and tradition in shaping men's and women's attitudes. That is one way in which the museum can become a dynamic and forceful contributor to the war effort and to the peace that is to come. . . ."

ELB reports that survey he made among museum

directors reveals museums face four major problems:

(1) organization the problem of personnel to head museums; (2) support for museums inadequate contributions and the problem to get people to attend and use museums; (3) the problem of satisfying needs of various groups which use museums children, adults, soldiers; (4) the public relations problem of "utilizing all avenues of approach to the public to meet your problems of financial support and attendance." ELB then outlines three outstanding functions of the museum in wartime: (1) the strengthening of morale through increasing the people's belief in the future and themselves by showing them the past and the present; (2) providing escape for a population made tense by wartime stress; (3) providing and maintaining the creative spirit so important to our democratic pattern and its future. ELB adds: "These three important objectives are newsworthy. . . . Public relations with deeds is more effective than public relations with words. . . . First, define your objectives specifically in terms of your own museum. Second, make a study of your community to find out what the prevailing attitudes and interests are, find out the channels of communication and their interests. At this point, work out plans of activities translate your program into action."

National Alumni Council. "Mass Psychology -in College Fund Raising." An address delivered at the Regional Conference of the National Alumni Council, Atlantic City, N.J., Feb 13, 1932. 8pp. ELB says: "Given these two ideas, first, that the world looks today for leadership to the university scientist, teacher; second, that the world is recognizing the validity of the mental equipment the college gives a man to cope with this disrupted economic world, how can they be turned into channels to create greater opportunities for you to use in raising funds to keep the college going?"

To achieve this goal, ELB recommends a public relations program based on following steps: (1) Through mass media of communication, group leaders and publicists, appeal to public's identification with colleges as institutions which educate our children and give us our leaders of today and tomorrow;

(2) issue a round robin signed by 100 captains of industry "calling upon America to give a thought to its colleges and to the things of the spirit, in this time when the fleshpots have proved of so little avail"; (3) A pronouncement by 600 college presidents "calling upon America to bethink itself of the university as the means of training the youth to be able to meet whatever future it has with strength and fortitude"; (4) saturate individuals in all walks of life with this viewpoint, so that they reflect it in their spoken and written utterances; (5) appeal to the desire for immortality by listing all donors to university funds on tablets; (6) fire the imagination of millions by a simple, direct symbol; (7) ask for a given sum for a given purpose on a given date; (8) let each university define its ideals so that these are known to groups who believe in the same ideal;

(9) let fund-raising committees be thoroughly representative of the community; (10) a successful fund-raising campaign requires overt acts which make the news luncheons, mass meetings, parades, broadcasts, resolutions, dedication exercises.

National Association of Manufacturers. "Panel of Public Relations Counsel on the Big Problem Facing Industry and What to Do about It." Proceedings Third Annual Public Relations Conference sponsored by the NAM, N.Y.: Dec 4, 1945. 89pp.

An Editorial note: "The members of the panel were: Edward L. Bernays, Carl Byoir, Pendleton Dudley, Fred Eldean, James W. Irwin, G. Edward Pendray, T. J. Ross."

National Municipal League, [etc.] "Crystallizing Public Opinion for Good Government." Address before the Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League and the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the American Civic Association in Joint Session. Pittsburgh, Nov 1925. 8pp.

A discussion of the techniques of public relations as applied to government.

After emphasizing the need to "sell" good government to a community, ELB outlines the techniques. "You may perhaps wonder at the use of the term

'selling good government.' Yet good government can be sold to a community just as any other commodity can be sold to a community. . . . Any intelligent handling of a problem in selling good government to a community must take into consideration the existing status of public opinion in the community where the 'sale' is going to be made. . . . The basic reason underlying such an analysis is the fact that men's opinions are most often changed by their acceptance of the opinions of those whom they regard as leaders. Remember, then, that this analysis should try as closely as possible to gauge the importance of the relative values of different leaders in the political thought of the community. . . . Now that the technician has mastered the first step in his 'sales campaign,' he proceeds to the second . . . and analyzes the appeals of his good government project to the community. He realizes that the individual and the group are swayed by only a very small number of fundamental desires and emotions and instincts. . . . The protagonist of good government, then, selects such appeals as will best serve to reach the groups he desires to influence. . . . The basic appeal or keynote of the campaign having been developed, the good government special pleader next has to consider the physical approaches to his public. . . . The platform, the motion picture (from a news-reel standpoint), the radio, the magazines, the direct mailing piece, the word-of-mouth 'spoken thought, the parade, the mass meeting every method of approach to the public through the senses must be made. . . . The special pleader has a simple matter when it comes to the utilization of these media, which I shall group together, with the exception of the daily press. He must simply study their con-

stituent organism as it exists at the time he is waging his campaign and find the greatest common denominator of interest between the medium and the appeal he has decided upon for his public, keeping in mind the group formation of society referred to previously. . . . Your group leaders, induced on some essential and basic interest to further your cause, and selected to fit into the media, will influence their constituents and larger interlapping groups. Given a cause that needs the whole community's support, it is a possi

bility to secure the interest of any number of different group leaders on varied appeals to sponsor the cause, and reflect them through the channels mentioned, to publics that will eventually include the whole community in terms of their own interests. ... I have left the newspaper to the last because it is a problem in itself and to it as an influence in molding public opinion could be devoted a special course of lectures. . . . Your special pleader, therefore, who cannot, because of physical and monetary limitations, publish his own newspapers to present his point of view, must continually think of his problem in terms of creating circumstances that will cause the desired expression in the minds of the public he is trying to reach, and which will at the same time compare in the market place for news of that given day with other news which the given newspaper is printing. The circumstances which he creates must embody the basic appeal he has developed as the one to which his public will respond, and it must embody this appeal in the form of a happening which will be as important, or more important, than other happenings in that particular place on that particular day. . . . The technique of influencing public opinion is then a problem to be gone at step by step. It demands a survey of the market the public, an analysis of the thought-buying habits of the 'buying' group, a study of the physical media of approach and a harmonizing of appeal to the media and to the public."

National Newspaper Promotion Association.

"Public Relations for the American Daily Newspaper." A talk delivered by Edward L. Bernays, counselor in public relations, April 25, 1944. Reproduced and distributed by the Association as a service to the cause of American newspapers. 14pp.

Discussing the public relations of America's daily newspapers, ELB says: "If my talk to you today on the public relations of America's daily newspapers is to be of any practical value to you, your newspaper and to the public, it must be based on an objective weighing of all the facts available. That is the only way to deal with any situation realistically look at the facts, interpret them, and let recommendations stem from analysis and synthesis. . . . To deal with the problem realistically then, we must examine three sets of facts and state the assumption on which we shall interpret facts that a democracy needs a

free and independent press, as a purveyor of news and as a social instrument of leadership. First, what are the policies and practices that govern the public

relations of American daily newspapers today? Second, what are the attitudes of the American people toward the daily press today? Third, what are the issues and goals the American people are interested in now and for the postwar period?"

After discussing his survey answers to these questions, ELB continues: "We have examined the three sets of facts we started out to. Now what are the conclusions and recommendations? If the newspaper effectively serves the public as a news purveyor and a social instrument, we do not need to be concerned with the newspaper as a private enterprise. . . . Our recommendations obviously apply to the daily newspaper field as a whole. . . . Newspapers must act on the basic consideration that a democracy needs a free and independent press which purveys accurate complete news, and is also a social instrument of leadership for constructive improvement. . . . Large circulations and advertising are not necessarily an index to the social value of a newspaper. If social values are not maintained, in the long run newspapers may lose their status as public service institutions and encounter a tendency by the public towards restriction, control and regulation even despite the first amendment. It is not inconceivable that pressures may be brought to bear against the press, that is not considered by the public to be living up to its privileged status. ... As to platforms of a leadership character, here are our recommendations: Greater emphasis should be placed on national and international social goals in the platforms of American newspapers. Planks of local character, emphasizing physical improvements in a community, now so generally used, might well be reconsidered. Greater emphasis might be placed on promoting local social goals, consistent, of course, with national and international social goals. The American people are vitally interested in postwar jobs, social reforms, social security, educational and other aid for returning soldiers, a chance to advance themselves, a recognition of their personal contribution to America and to the next generation. Planks of this kind, it seems to me, might be given emphasis on a local as well as national basis. As to planks of a news purveying character, these are well stated by

the newspapers of the country. It is apparent that what they stand for is not as acceptable to the public as they ought to be. Newspapers to maintain their status must not only adhere to these planks, they must make a vigorous avowal of them to the public. Platforms must be continually 'sold' to the public in every possible way. The press must consciously make the public recognize its values in both the field of social leadership and news purveying. . . . The press must not only have sound leadership platforms and sound news policies and practices, it must 'sell' both to the public. In the leadership field, it can develop vigorous campaigns for action. In the news purveying field, it must stand not only for freedom from prejudice but 'sell' this freedom from prejudice to the public. It must 'sell' to the public constantly that it is truthful and accurate, particularly in those areas in which the public appears to doubt its fair-

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ness, its treatment of politicians and politics, labor and labor leaders, business and businessmen, foreign affairs, religious and racial problems."

National Society for Crippled Children and Adults. "Achieving Goals for the Handicapped." Proceedings 1949 Annual Convention. Hotel Commodore, N. Y: Nov 6-10, 1949. 231pp. Introducing ELB at the November 8 session of the Society's convention, the chairman said: "He is not a stranger to the work we are engaged in nor to the activities of the people present, because he has been a member of the National Public Relations Committee of the American Red Cross, and is a director of the National Committee on Mental Hygiene, and of the Arthritis and Rheumatism Foundation. He is Edward L. Bernays, a graduate of Cornell University. Time magazine has called him 'the United States Publicist No. 1.' He is a lecturer on public relations at New York University. Next summer, he will be Visiting Professor on Public Relations at the University of Hawaii. He has served the United States government in various capacities such as the Paris Peace Conference, the United States Committee on Public Information, the War Department and the Department of Commerce. He is an author and a frequent contributor to leading magazines, and news

papers and social science journals."

Speaking on "Achieving Goals Through Education," ELB said: "... the visibility today of your cause is not as great as it might be not because the problem of crippled children and adults is not as important and vital as you might think it is, but because thousands of other ideas and interests are competing with yours for public attention. You may have the best cause in the world, but the public must be convinced that it is important before it will support it. The public importance of a cause is in direct ratio to its visibility, to its being on the front page, so to speak, of communications that reach and make public opinion. . . . You must then create visibility for your movement high visibility on a national, statewide and local basis. This is your first problem in any attempt to educate the public for the achievement of your stated goal.

"... the problem of educating the public is a much broader problem. We might call it a problem of social engineering, or a problem of engineering the consent of the public for your goals.

"The first step ... is to insure that your goals are realistic, that they are attainable and that they are effectively refined and defined. . . . Research of the public will tell you whether the manpower, the money and the organizational facilities available to you now can meet your hoped-for goal. . . . You will also find out by research of the public what the social forces in the community are that may work with you, . . . what your publics are, what they are made up of, what they are motivated by, what the special fields of activity that appeal to these publics are. . . . Research of this kind will help you to define goals that will appeal to the public.

"While selling your words to editors, publishers,

radio commentators, writers and other opinion molders, you must also integrate yourself with the community where you function, with the key social groups that make up the community and its social pattern on a local level, a statewide level, a national level.

". . . possibly one way to cope with the problems of educating the American public to understand the

needs of crippled children and adults and to support your cause, is for you to set up a central board of strategy consisting of representatives of your National Society and of other groups. . . . This central board of strategy . . . could work out both an immediate and a long range plan of educating the public in the light of whatever the research of your publics indicates is the necessary blueprint of action." pp. 81-87.

New England News Letter. "Building Goodwill for New England Industry." Supplement, Aug 1938, pp. 4-12.

Addressing the Conference of leading New England Manufacturers, ELB said: "The importance of public relations today, it seems to me, is that the business man must regard it as more than articulation; he must regard it as a basic and underlying part of his responsibility to the world he lives in. He must recognize that only if the public interest and the private profit coincide can he maintain and develop his own business and the broader system of which it is a part."

ELB reports on the "Goodwill Survey" which he made for the Industrial Committee of the New England Council. This survey was sent to 2500 New England manufacturers, of whom 263 or 10.5% replied.

Of this survey, ELB said: "It aimed to find out whether your community realized the contribution made to its economic life by your company, inquired as to whether your community was friendly to your company, and whether your company was friendly to the community; asked as to the appearance of your company's officers before local groups in the community; inquired, specifically, as to the participation of your company in community affairs. Then it queried whether certain different kinds of information were made available to local newspapers and other agencies in the community; whether you encouraged visits to your plants; what employee information relationships you carried on; what plant identification you had; what plant exhibits you provided, what local activities you participated in towards a furtherance of your business, and what you considered the chief barriers or obstacles to good relations between industry and your community.

"... business must retain the system of private

enterprise, of private profit and of free competition which made America. These are part and parcel of our democracy. The drift towards state capitalism that is going on in many parts of the world is fraught with danger for the democracy. That is why it is so important that the people should not be permitted to lose faith in business. ... If our democracy is to

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remain, business must regain the good will of the public. It must reestablish itself with the public. But it must depend for its public understanding on deeds as well as words. . . . Public relations is no longer a matter of a mimeograph machine, manufacturing releases for newspapers. It is no longer a matter of appearing before local groups, participating in community affairs, contributing towards community charities, sending out information. Constructive public relations must permeate your every attitude and action. What you think and do must be in accord with public opinion, public desire, public demand and public interest as well as with your private profit. ..."

Newspaper Advertising Executives Association,
Inc. "Symbols The Currency of Propaganda."
Address at the 28th Annual Convention, N. Y.
1935. p. 9.

An action-related analysis of the use of symbols in propaganda, publicity, and public relations.

ELB said: "There are so few leaders today because there is so little understanding of the science of ballyhoo by those who should be leaders. ... In influencing and motivating the group to action, symbols and cliches play a most significant role. . . . Leaders must devise symbols that will interpret the disappointed and the latent beliefs of the public and that will stand again for the public's desires. A new symbol-maker will be a new leader, if his symbols are valid. . . . Propaganda the science of ballyhoo can give direction to the shifting tastes and wants of the consumer through the use of symbols, whether it be applied in newspaper advertising or some other form of propaganda. . . . The modern propagandist studies systematically and objec

tively the material with which he is working, in the spirit of the laboratory. If the matter in hand is a nationwide sales campaign, he studies the field by means of a clipping service, or of a corps of scouts, or by personal study at crucial spots. . . . This technique is daily being applied to every field of human activity. . . . The world of industry particularly must recognize that it is not only dealing with three dimensional objects and methods through which to move them to the public. It must recognize that in addition to objects, it is dealing with symbols that are competing with all other kinds of abstractions, and that the only way to do this effectively is to have fundamentally in mind the science of ballyhoo."

New York Academy of Medicine. "A Venture in Public Health Integration:" The 1941 Health Education Conference of the New York Academy of Medicine. N. Y: Morningside Heights, Columbia University Press. 1942. 56pp.

Chapter II, "Barriers to Health Education," by ELB, analyzes public health services, the cost of medical care, and the barriers to health education. It contains a public relations program for educating the American people on health matters, pp. 24-45.

Reprinted as "Psychological Barriers in Health Education." Vital Speeches of the Day, Vol. VIII, No. 6, Jan 1, 1942. pp. 188-192.

New York Herald Tribune. Fifth Annual Forum on Current Problems. "America Faces a Changing World" The New York Tribune, Inc. 1935. 318pp.

The Fifth Session of this Herald-Tribune Forum, held October 17, 1935, was devoted to "Propaganda: A Force for Good or Evil." ELB spoke on "Moulding Public Opinion," pp. 234-238. Introducing him, Mrs. William Brown Maloney, Chairman of the Forum and editor of This Week, said: "The next speaker on this program is by way of being a sort of institution. A nephew of that famous psychologist, Dr. Sigmund Freud, his training and environment made him a student of human nature, and in his early life he became interested in the psychology of the crowd. He read a play called 'Damaged Goods,' believed it should be given to the public for the public's own good, and undertook to put it over. Doing this was not just a press agent's job selling that play to the public meant con

verting the legal profession, the medical profession, the educators and the press to acceptance of a more open discussion of social problems than they had ever known before. That was Mr. Bernays' first experience as a public counsellor. Today he is one of the foremost men in that profession; has, in fact, been largely instrumental in creating the profession as such. I want to quote something he said about it several years ago. 'Propaganda is simply special pleading projected in terms of the public interest. This can be used to antisocial purpose.' Ida Tarbell asked him what was the difference in the propaganda methods of a statesman and a demagogue. He answered that the difference was that one man had a social purpose and the other didn't. It is the difference between the honest lawyer and a shyster lawyer; between a reputable doctor and a quack; between humanism and egotism. Mr. Bernays has been the adviser of presidents, of high government officials, of big business. He is the author of two well-known books *Propaganda* and *Crystallizing Public Opinion*. In his speech ELB said: "Americans must recognize that in the science of propaganda they have at their command a real weapon with which to consolidate and make effective the work and contributions of past and present generations that have built up our present-day system an economic and governmental system which we do not desire to exchange for any other."

New York State Title Association. " Mr. Bernays' Address 'Private Interest and Public Responsibility.' " May 5-6, 1939, pp. 59-66.

Minutes of New York State Title Association meeting, beginning with the president's introductory remarks. "The Association this year is going a little further afield in its program. The next speaker is a publicist not directly associated with the title business. Mr. Bernays has been identified with many of the large corporations in business, advising them on their public relations. TIME has called him U. S. Publicist No. 1 ..." The text beginning, "Title insurance and its related field of real estate invest-

ment today face the same problems of public relations many other great fields of financial activity are

facing. The need these businesses serve is greater than public knowledge and appreciation of this need." Speech given by ELB covers sub-topics, "How to Develop a Better Understanding," "Public Interest Values," "Private Interests and Public Responsibility," "Business Dependent on Goodwill," "Public Relations a Definite Objective." Question and answer period including one member's comment, "We have had a million dollars' worth of advice from Mr. Bernays for the price of a good luncheon" also reported.

Pennsylvania State College. "Human Relations The Way to Labor -Management Adjustments" Bulletin. Vol. XLI, No. 7. Feb 14, 1947. pp. 15-22. A paper presented at the 23rd Annual Industrial Conference of the College, State College, Pa.

ELB said: "The attempt of either management or labor to win public opinion to its side alone is in itself no solution. The job of management, as it is of labor, is to put its own house in order so that it can begin to develop a public opinion that will itself look beyond the conflicting claims of group interest. There is no short-cut to this goal."

ELB discusses the basic problems of labor-management maladjustments and appeals to management to "bring its thinking up to date. . . .

"How can management build a real case that both the public and labor will accept? In dealing with labor-management problems, management suffers from a cultural time lag. This phrase succinctly describes the gap which exists between what people actually do and what they could do in the light of the knowledge available. . . . The question resolves itself into management's attitudes and actions towards the worker and the representatives of management, from pay to ventilation. . . . Today industrial management must apply to its industrial relations the theories of human behavior developed in the social science laboratories. To use this knowledge is not visionary. It is the highest type of practical, self-interest, enlightened reality. . . . An orderly solution to management's responsibilities is necessary before management can present a visible case for itself." In the hopes of stimulating such a solution, ELB offered a seven-point program: (1) study and codifying of study materials on human relations from all over the country; (2) management should

contribute financial and personnel aid to organizations studying and publishing in the field; (3) management should actively support universities through scholarships and endowments; (4) technological research should be applied to increasing industrial productivity through more efficient machinery; (5) all plans for improving labor relations should be studied thoroughly; (6) more widespread and intelligent use should be made of specialized industrial relations personnel; (7) the public must be educated to an understanding of what the American system means to them.

"Management must do its part as labor to see that it conforms to the new conditions, that change is kept within a working evolutionary framework. About the only guarantee of industrial peace is for management to apply the science of human relationships to this problem. If management accepts its responsibility to achieve co-partnership with workers, public opinion will support management's share in this accomplishment."

Philco Distributors' & Dealers' Convention.

"Leadership." An address by Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations to the Philco Radio & Television Corporation. Delivered to Philco Distributors and Dealers on the 1936 Convention Cruise Aboard the Q.T.E.M. Monarch of Bermuda. Copyright 1936, Philco Radio and Television Corporation. 16pp.
ELB analyzes the nature and the characteristics of leadership in American society and applies it practically to Philco.

Printing and Advertising Clinics. "Public Relations A Challenge to the Graphic Arts." Talk at the Second of the Clinics, sponsored by the General Printing Ink Corporation, N. Y: Apr 16, 1940. 23pp.

ELB discusses the problems of the graphic arts industry "those engaged in the three processes of reproduction, letterpress, lithography and gravure, and the allied trades, the suppliers."

He found out what the problems were by a nationwide survey, among leaders of the industry printers, lithographers, engravers, professors in

printing universities, editors and publishers of trade newspapers, type founders, labor leaders; manufacturers of presses, paper and other materials.

The industry faces: (1) internal problems; (2) problems of relations with the broad public; (3) relations with its customers [pp. 6-7]. Industry leaders, ELB says, have six major complaints: (1) "there are too many printers in the field and not enough crafts men . . . the lack of public appreciation of the graphic arts industry is due to the fact that there is too little appreciation within the industry itself as to what constitutes quality work; (2) the lack of realization of artistic potentialities by the industry; (3) poor salesmanship; (4) poor promotion; (5) lack of cooperation in the industry; (6) the need for a coordinated and well-planned promotional campaign using every form of promotional media." ELB recommends the following public relations program for the graphic arts industry: ". . . call together . . . leaders from the various divisions of the industry to study the problems and suggest solutions. ... I recommend that your Committee develop a program of broad principles and practices for the graphic arts industry to follow. ... I suggest that competent technicians be engaged to make a study of the public mind to find out just what the attitudes of your publics are . . . toward the principles and goals you have decided upon ... a campaign of public education . . . using what we might call the engineering of consent, organized

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persuasion, from advertising to mailing pieces, from personal suasion to industry resolutions, to win support both of your industry and public to the principles and practices you have decided upon."

ELB says: "Certainly, the graphic arts and the prosperity of this country are interdependent. The graphic arts are the fourth largest industry of the country. Every sound attempt should be made to solve the problem of their mutual interrelations and public relations."

Progressive Education Association. Gulp, W. M. "Progressive Education Conference." The West

ern Journal of Education. March 1938, pp. 5-7.
Speaking as a member of the panel on educational freedom and propaganda at the Twentieth National Conference of the Progressive Education Association, held from February 23rd to the 26th, ELB said: "Freedom of using propaganda takes its place with the other freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution." To Professor Leonard Doob's challenge that propagandists try to influence public opinion in a concealed manner, Mr. Bernays answered that there are ethics and standards for men in public relations as well as other professions.

Robert Morris Associates. "Public Good Witt as a Credit Factor." Address before New York Chapter. The Robert Morris Associates Monthly Bulletin, Vol. 18, No. 3, Aug 1935. pp. 49-52. ELB said: "As far as the credit system is concerned, . . . there may be periods in which people neither borrow nor lend. In such periods as these, it is vitally important for credit organizations to keep alive public belief in the institution of borrowing and lending, because should the habit of not utilizing the credit system become too firmly fixed, it would be extremely difficult to build up a new faith, without which the credit system must needs fail," p. 52.

School Administration and Supervisors Conference. "Public Relations for Public Education: How to Create Greater Public Understanding of the Public Schools: by Edward L. Bernays." An address delivered at The Second Annual Conference held at New York University on April 30, 1949. 8pp.

ELB analyzes the current crisis in American education, emphasizing educational needs and expenditures, the prevalence of obsolete school buildings and crowded class rooms, the shortage of teachers, etc. He gives findings of attitude polls, showing what the public thinks about public education and suggests techniques for educating the public to a greater understanding of the problem.

ELB says: "The facts about the crisis in education must be integrated with realizable social goals and they must be acted upon if the crisis is to be resolved. In order to achieve the necessary action, the consent of the public must be engineered in the desired direction. In a world where thousands of facts compete daily for our attention, we must somehow

focus public attention on the educational crisis in a way that will bring about social change in favor of a

better educational system. . . . Public education has a particularly low visibility. This calls for even greater effort in making the public aware of what is involved and what must be done in the current educational crisis. . . . What we need today are voluntary groups which will educate the public about education and so create the necessary public demand for laws that will save and improve our school system. . . . What is needed is that all the groups working for better education should speak with one voice, while each group retains its own freedom and responsibility to work for better education on its own level. Such a unification of effort would avoid the duplication and distortion which are bound to confuse, instead of enlightening, the public."

ELB then suggests the creation of a central board of strategy, consisting of leading lay groups and educators who would set policies and goals for American schools as a necessary step toward solving the crisis in education. This board would direct research in the educational crisis and public attitudes, reorient objectives; work out a clear-cut plan of organization, strategy and tactics "to engineer public consent in relation to this issue"; use school buildings for public meetings, adult education, consumer training, recreational purposes; influence the public through the press, the radio, television, posters, pamphlets and motion pictures; achieve more effective cooperation between schools and parents, and between schools and the community. ELB concludes: "Coordinated effort alone will help us overcome the present chaos in our educational system. And we must act quickly, for that chaos is very dangerous to our children and to our future, a deadly menace to the generations to come, the level of whose intelligence and character will determine what kind of America we shall have."

Talks. "Should Public Opinion Polls Be Licensed?" Quarterly Digest of Addresses Presented in the Public Interest by the Columbia Network. Vol. 12, No. 2. Apr 1947. N.Y: Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. pp. 54-56.
Editorial note: "Archibald M. Crossley, market analyst and pioneer in the development of opinion polls, and Edward L. Bernays, eminent publicist and

author of 'Crystallizing Public Opinion,' stated their divergent views over CBS, January 6. ELB said: 'We are no longer led by men. We are led around by polls. . . . Actually, public opinion is much more changeable than is indicated by the polls. . . . The government must protect the public against mal practices in polling. We license doctors, lawyers, accountants and architects to protect the public. We set up standards of character and education which they must meet, and everyone favors this. By the same token we should license poll-takers.'

Toronto Advertisers. "A Psychological Blueprint for the Peace Canada, U.S.A." Address before the Joint Annual Meeting of the Association of Canadian Advertisers and the Advertising and Sales Club of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. Oct 28, 1943. 14pp.

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ELB said: "We must learn to translate our divisive powerful war publicity into equally powerful peace publicity for mutual understanding. This must be based on a knowledge and understanding by the people of both countries of their common post-war problems and goals of defense, offense and economic relationship. Only on such common understanding can we both be assured that we shall best be serving our national destinies, which by tradition, economics and a common background are so closely bound together," p. 14.

This plea was made in reference to ELB's proposal of "an organization following the pattern of already existing boards ... a joint Canadian-United States Board for Mutual Understanding. ... A Joint Board for Mutual Understanding," he explained, "provides a body which carries on a common publicity activity to serve the interests of both countries, in that it gives the people of both countries the facts on which they may base their attitudes and . . . actions. Such a permanent Joint Board for Mutual Understanding should consist of an equal number of men representing both countries. These men should be appointed for life as are the judges of our highest tribunals . . . should have a deep love and understanding of the common

interests of both countries and a knowledge of their common needs. . . . Such a Board should include from each country, one or two elder statesmen, a social psychologist, a newspaper publisher or radio executive, an adult educator, an expert in the field of public relations, and an advertising man. ... As democracies, each country must work on the premise that if the people of both countries are given sound information, the countries themselves through their representative and executive officers will determine sound policies. A budget will be provided . . . publicly to be accounted for as is that of the Canadian W.I.B. or our own O.W.I. It will learn just what the public of one country knows about the other, what pre-conceived notions or ignorances prevent complete understanding . . . will not mix into the politics of the moment . . . will plan and work for a long time rapprochement. . . . The board should consistently stimulate relations between the two countries through facilitating exchange of information and viewpoint of key people in great social forces that make up both countries education, commerce and industry, agriculture, labor, the professions. The flow of ideas will not be a fortuitous one way flow . . . but rather . . . two-way . . . [in] fact and point of view." In presenting this "psychological blueprint for the peace between my country and yours," ELB bases his "analysis and interpretation" on "present-day facts and conditions . . . [on] present war relationships [which] point the way to such a study" "mutual regard" between the peoples of both countries, as shown by public opinion polls; the sense of being "natural allies" in regard to international relations; cooperative activities, by agreement, of Canadian and U. S. War Information Services ('Under the urgency of common need in war, the groundwork for our blue

print has been laid.'). In the Foreword, Lee Trenholm, president, The Advertising and Sales Club of Toronto, comments, "Rare indeed is the important proposal embodied in [this] distinguished discourse. . . ."

U. S. Army Adjutant General's School. "Public Relations." Speech delivered before Recruiting Class No. 21, Jan 20, 1947.

In this talk, at Carlisle Barracks, Penna., ELB urges that the President, the Congressional Armed Servi

ces Committees and military authorities should issue a joint statement of national policy explaining to the people of the country the purpose and need for the contemplated peace-time army of 1,070,000 troops which demands 40,000 volunteers a month.

University of Chicago Round Table. "Morale First Line of Defense?" A Radio Discussion. Jan 18, 1941. 28pp.

Participating in this radio discussion were ELB, described as "Public Relations Counsel, New York City"; Prof. Harold Lasswell, "political scientist, Washington, D. C."; and Norman Thomas, "National Chairman of the Socialist Party, Candidate for President, 1928, 1932, 1936, 1940."

The introductory note explains that "The Round Table, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no 'ax to grind.' In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own. ..."

ELB is asked by Lasswell to define "morale": "Morale is behavior," he says, "behavior judged by someone on the outside in relationship to our goal. Under strong morale we have energy, enthusiasm, belief in our goals, and ideals. Under weak morale we have apathy, frustration, and breakdown. A strong morale means that we of the United States must have a common goal, a belief in our leaders, and a belief in ourselves."

Subsequently, under "Objective Questions for Examination," Round Table listeners are asked to "Give Mr. Bernays' definition of 'morale.' " Under "Questions [. . . of wider scope . . .] For Analysis and Discussion," listeners are asked to "Define your concept of what is meant by the term 'morale.' . . . Does your viewpoint coincide with that of either Mr. Bernays or Mr. Thomas [who questioned the significance of, and relation of, 'common morale' to, and as against 'a right goal in democracy itself']? ... If not, how does it differ?"

ELB agrees with Thomas "that the test of democracy in the next few years is going to be our success in meeting unemployment and poverty. But,"

he adds, "the success of our present democracy is going to depend upon this: Are we going to be able to meet the warfares against democracy that are taking place today . . . are we going to have morale?"; he disagrees with Lasswell on the point "that people in this country want democracy, but

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. . . have no agreement on ways and means toward democracy." ELB says: ". . . by the best statistical count, there are ten million people in this country who are more sympathetic to other types of systems than they are to democracy. What I fear is that we are so interested in discussing the future that we don't pay the attention we should to realizing the same type of active, dynamic force for democracy as that developed by those who are opposed. . . "

ELB and Lasswell agree that "it is perfectly possible for a democracy to fight a war," in contradiction to Thomas who "won't say that it is wholly impossible [but] it is extremely difficult . . . doubly ... at long range"; after lively interchange, at tempting to clarify the implications, all speakers concede that, for morale, it is important to "speak up and ACT for democracy. . . "

Declaring further that "what this country needs is a common goal," but in reference to Thomas with "men like you talking," ELB insists: "I believe that ideas are weapons in a democracy; that public opinion is the sum of individual opinions; that you are helping to make individual opinions; that the public makes national morale, national unity, and national wealth; and that everyone can help share public opinion and public action. I remember that twenty years ago there wasn't anything like public relations. Today we know that leadership is largely the result of effective planning of techniques and methods, and we can all be leaders in a democratic way. Totalitarian systems and enemies within our country are waging a propaganda war to break down democracy."

In reference to ELB's question, "What do you think of the idea of getting experts in the field of

morale psychologists, neurologists, communication experts, men like Thomas who know and love their country to work on a commission to give counsel and advice where it is needed on problems of morale having to do with everything from frustration and prejudice and social behavior to the problems that the army or ... navy ... or the draft meets with men" Lasswell finally says, "I think we need lots of service agencies for national defense to help people to understand just how they can serve democracy in this crisis. To that extent I agree with the general conception of a morale commission. Then I think that represents our consensus today on our question: Is morale our first line of defense? We have said: 'Yes, without it we cannot succeed.' We have also said: 'No, morale is not our first line of defense because it is a result and not the cause of a successful defense effort.' One thing has emerged clearly. We agree that we must have clarity about the ends and means of the achievement of a democratic society."

Under "Suggested Readings" for Round Table listeners, six works are listed, including "Bernays, Edward L., Speak Up for Democracy. . . . The methods and strategies of modern public relations salesmanship applied to the job of 'selling' democracy."

University of Cincinnati. "Tomorrow's Public Relations: A Blueprint for American Business." Text of a talk delivered before the Business and Professional Men's Group, Cincinnati, Ohio, Mar 10, 1944. 31pp.

This address surveys the problems of post war planning and readjustment and how public relations fits into the attempts to realize the goals set by various leaders and groups for a better world. After pointing out the extent to which planning was being used in other fields, ELB urges comparable efforts in the public relations field. Quoting from three different sources, the Atlantic City conference of business, labor and farm groups, the Baruch-Hancock report on reconversion, and an address by Henry Wallace, a synthesis of goals for public relations planning is reached. After pointing out the necessity of studying social facts and realities, and therefore the need for studying them, recent polls are discussed which back up the delineation of public relations goals.

ELB says: "Polls show our people want democratic justice in its broadest sense. . . . Polls prove that a great deal of ordinary living goes on outside of working and that society must provide for the happy pursuit of this kind of living. . . . Polls show too that if we practice sound public relations in one of the vitally important segments of our life-business, we shall avoid revolution. . . . The acceptance of all these realities the pronouncement of American leaders, the social facts, the polls must govern the American businessman. ... In practicing effective public relations . . . you will find that what you are really doing is practicing good leadership. Leaders in a democracy are men or women who win friends and influence people by word and deed. ... As forceful, socially minded, forward-looking leaders, businessmen can practice and publicize socially sound policies and practices not only in business but in other fields as well. . . . American business men interested in preserving democracy and predominantly free enterprise must exert this kind of leadership effectively. . . . Nor can business men permit reactionaries to be their spokesmen and official leaders."

University of Virginia. "Freedom of Propaganda: The Constructive Forming of Public Opinion." Talk delivered at the Institute of Public Affairs, July 16, 1936. Reprinted in "Vital Speeches of the Day." Vol. II, No. 24, Sept 1, 1936, pp. 744-746.

ELB said: "Americans must recognize that in the science of propaganda they have at their command a real weapon with which to consolidate and make effective the work and contributions of past and present generations that have built up our present-day system an economic and governmental system which we do not desire to change for any other."

Discussing the role of propaganda, ELB said: "Propaganda is the voice of the people in the democracy of today. Freedom of propaganda is as important as the other civil liberties freedom of

worship, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of radio, and freedom of assembly. . . . Propaganda is an important tool of sound social evolution and change. Propaganda makes it possible for minority ideas to become effective more quickly. . . . What is this propaganda that takes ideas and facts, and gains quicker acceptance for them that modifies the motives, the thoughts, and the actions of millions? Propaganda is applied psychology. Propaganda is an attempt to give currency to an idea by finding the common denominator between the idea and the public interest, and stating it. It is bringing an old or a new idea to acceptance by the public. . . . The methods of propaganda are readily available to all forces in society that wish to effect change or to maintain the status quo. . . . From the broad social standpoint, propaganda can be used in industry for a variety of purposes. It can be utilized to hasten or slow up the normal time lag in the public acceptance of a product. . . . Propagandas for the consumer's favor carry broad consequences in their wake, and serve a useful purpose in the economic system. They serve to stabilize life for the producing as well as the consuming elements. They tend to eliminate the shocks and sudden changes which it is clear our system cannot stand. . . . Propaganda makes public interest the deciding factor, for the more propagandas there are vying for public interest and public attention, the freer is the public to choose on the basis of its real wants.

"What, you may ask, can be the rationalization of these propagandas? namely this that as interest and attention are focused on these battles, disinterested authority will align itself on the basis of merit with one side or another, and the presumption is that that side will win in public favor which is in the public interest and at the same time satisfies the private-profit motive that is at the basis of our present system. . . . Individuals, industries, and organizations have not heretofore regarded themselves as part of a larger whole that must present a unified front to the public. The capitalistic system has entirely neglected the larger implications of selling itself against competitive systems to the public. ... If we are to safeguard the principles of democracy on which our country was founded, if we are to safeguard democracy itself, we must first understand and then utilize effectively the science of propaganda in its behalf. . . . The task of the propagandist is, in essence, the effective manage

ment of the symbols at his command to bring about desired responses from the public in order to achieve the desired end. . . "

Western Reserve University. "Democratic Leadership in Total War" Address at Cleveland College, Western Reserve University. 1943. 8pp. In this address "presented at Cleveland College of Western Reserve University, under the auspices of the Journalism Department," ELB said: "The reliance of democracy on its leaders is one of the great safeguards in psychological warfare within and outside the country. We must recognize that the

relationship between the leader and his followers is basic to victory, and that our many leaders must assume the responsibility of guiding their followers not only in peacetime pursuits, as they already do, but for victory as well."

The Foreword states in part: "Edward L. Bernays, who has long enjoyed the reputation of being the nation's number one publicist, speaks, in this timely address, with the authority of one who has made 'people' his life work. The demonstration contained in this paper should give comfort to those who believe that there is no mass mind, but there are mobile groups of educatable people who think individually and often act as a unit. His thesis makes stimulating reading."

ELB said, "The first step in forging psychological unity in the United States is to discover how many potential war leaders there are in America who can strengthen uncompromising determination for democratic victory. According to the latest available figures, there are 788,257 such leaders. . . . Leaders, for their part, have access to the minds and wills of their followers. They must assume their responsibilities and mobilize the psychological front for victory in this war of ideas. . . . We must not expect words alone, no matter how true or pointed, to build up our national will to victory. . . . Government is expressed by acts and words. But the Government in our democracy depends upon the people, on what they want, on what they are willing to accept. The people depend to a great extent on thousands of leaders for guidance as to their attitudes and actions. We always get back to the leaders no matter where we start." The address continues with an identification

of the 25 most influential leaders of the day, and of the leaders included in the figure quoted above of 788,257 leaders, and concludes with an appeal for more effective harnessing of this leadership to the purposes of total war.

WOR Forum Book. Granik, Theodore S., ed.

With a Foreword by Robert F. Wagner, U. S.

Senator from New York. N. Y: Falcon Press,

Inc., 1933. 273pp.

This series of debates under the auspices of the WOR Forum Hour contains one between ELB and Silas Bent. A Who's Who of Contributors to this book describes ELB as follows: "A leader in the field of counsel on public relations. Has acted in that field for foreign governments, industrial and public welfare organizations, national associations, and individuals. Author of 'Propaganda' and 'Crystallizing Public Opinion.' Maintains an office in New York." Arguing the affirmative of the question, "Is Propaganda a Constructive Force in American Life Today?", ELB says: "The instruments by which public opinion are organized and focused may be misused just as other instruments in law and medicine are being misused; but such organization and focusing are necessary to orderly life. As civilization and the technique of spreading ideas have become more complex, the technician has arisen whose function it is to help in presenting a point of view and a product.

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"Today, every idea and every product is competing with every other idea and every product for favorable public opinion.

"... The practice of propaganda since the war has assumed very different forms from those prevalent twenty years ago. This new technique may fairly be called the new propaganda. The new propagandist utilizes mass psychology and the technical means of approach to the masses in order to give his idea or object a greater value in the eyes of the public.

"The problems of business offer great opportunity for the propagandist, for everyone is competing against everyone else for the consumer's dollar. . . . Those businessmen . . . who have propagandized successfully for basically sound products, have not only added to the economic stability of their communities, but by doing so, also have contributed,

indirectly, but nonetheless surely, to the happiness of people generally. . . . During the last twenty years there has hardly been a single new idea, new invention, or new product accepted by the public which was not made available for the public's benefit through the use of propaganda in one form or another. Schools, colleges, churches, the theatre, literature, art, music, charities and other forms of social service all have used propaganda effectively. . . . 'The cure for propaganda is more propaganda.' It enables minorities to break up dominant groups. It is the advance agent of new ideas and new products. Since it is available to all, it is an insurance against autocracy in government and against standardization and stagnation.

"It seems to me that the future historian will ascribe to propaganda a very large share or responsibility for America's progress . . ." pp. 93-100.

Tart Two
WRITINGS ABOUT EDWARD L. BERNAYS

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Mention of

EDWARD L. BERNAYS
in Books

Abdullah, Achmed, and Baldwin, Faith. Broad way Interlude. N. Y: Payson & Clarke, Ltd., 1929. 306pp.

This novel of New York life contains the following passage about a fictional character said to be modeled on the late Otto Kahn: "Julius Beck had a strong passion for things of enduring beauty; fancied himself as Art's self-elected patron; had subsidized many a publicity expert and public relations counsel, from Ed Bernays to Oliver Tayler, so that his fame as a Maecenas might spread from New York to London, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific." p. 118.

Agnew, Hugh F., and Houghton, Dale. Marketing Policies. N. Y: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941. 615pp.

Bibliographical reference to "Bernays, E. L: 'Crystallizing Public Opinion,' N. Y: Boni and Liveright, 1923." p. 460.

Albig, William. Public Opinion. N. Y. and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939. 486pp.

Bibliographical reference to ELB's book, Crystallizing Public Opinion, Chaps. I, II, "The Nature and Development of Public Opinion," p. 433; to his book, Propaganda Chaps. XVII, XVIII, "The Nature and Art of Propaganda," p. 456; to his article, "Manipulating Public Opinion," American Journal of Sociology, 33:958-971, Chapter XIII, "Opinion Change," p. 451.

American Academy of Political and Social Science: Annals. Philadelphia, The Academy. Vol. 179, May 1935, 287pp.

In his article on "Party Campaign Propaganda," Ralph D. Casey says: "Edward L. Bernays has complained of the great waste in the distribution of campaign propaganda and the failure to work out the entire campaign according to broad plans, with as scientific an analysis of the public to be reached as possible." Footnote reference to ELB's book "Propaganda." p. 82.

In his article on "Official Publicity Under the New

Deal," E. Pendleton Herring quotes the suggestion in ELB's book "Propaganda" that the "United States Government should create a Secretary of Public Relations as (a) member of the President's Cabinet. The function of this official should be to interpret America's aims and ideals throughout the world, and to keep the citizens of this country in touch with governmental activities and the reasons which prompt them. He would, in short, interpret the people to the Government and the Government to the people." Footnote reference to ELB's book "Propaganda." p. 172.

The editors of this volume of the Annals, devoted to "Pressure Groups and Propaganda," follow ELB's

article on "Molding Public Opinion" with a biographical sketch of ELB. p. 87.

Philadelphia, The Academy. Vol. 250,

Mar 1947. 183pp.

This volume, devoted to the overall topic "Communication and Social Action", contains an article by Arleigh B. Williamson on "Safeguarding Channels of Communication" which refers to ELB's article on the "Engineering of Consent," appearing in the same volume, p. 5. Also: "Some large industries and their advertisers, it has been said by Dudley and Bernays, have become conscious that their ultimate welfare depends on public confidence." p. 8.

American Association of School Administrators. "Public Relations For America's Schools: Twenty-Eighth Yearbook." Published by the American Association of School Administrators, a department of the National Education Association of the United States. 1950. 497pp. Discussing The Superintendent's Leadership in Public Relations this article says: "The public relations point of view on leadership has been well expressed by Bernays: Leadership is the 'engineering of consent.' It is getting people to follow you because they want to, not because you want them to." Footnote reference to ELB in "Tomorrow's Public Relations," p. 128. Listing of ELB's "Crystallizing Public Opinion" in Selected References, Chapter I, p. 308.

American Library Association, American Red

Cross, United Service Organizations. Final Reports, Victory Book Campaign, 1942-43. 26pp.

". . . as Co-chairmen of the Campaign Committee [for public relations, publicity and collections], three well known men were selected, appointed and consented to serve: Franklin P. Adams, author, columnist and 'Information Please' expert; Edward L. Bernays, noted Public Relations Counsel; Norman Cousins, author, and editor of the 'Saturday Review of Literature'." p. 14.

American Merchant Marine Conference. Proceedings, Volume 12. N. Y: The Propeller Club of the United States, 1946. 335pp.

As co-chairman, ELB, Counsel on Public Relations, presided over the panel on Waterway Improvement held at the Waldorf Astoria during the Propeller Club's Twentieth Annual Convention, October 18, 1946. Before introducing the first speaker, Brigadier General Albert L. Cox, "in command of the Military District of Washington during the war," ELB emphasized the importance of waterway improvements in "maintaining and increasing our standards of living in this country by reducing costs" to the advantage of individual consumers, p. 174.

Art Directors Club of New York. 26th Annual of Advertising Art. N. Y: Watson-Guptill Publications, Inc., 1947. 316pp.

Excerpt from ELB's talk before the Art Directors Club, "More Power to Art Directors A Challenge to the Profession," is featured as introduction in a double-page spread, pp. viii-ix.

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Author's and Writer's Who's Who & Reference Guide. London: Shaw Publishing Co., Ltd., 1948-49. 799pp.

Biographical sketch: "Bernays, Edward L. B. S: Vienna 1891. e: DeWitt Clinton High Sch., Cornell Univ. m: Doris E. Fleischman. d: 2. Mem. Nat. Publ. Rel. Cttee. Publ: Crystallizing Public Opinion; Broadway Anthology; Propaganda; Speak Up for

Democracy; Take Your Place at the Peace Table;
Public Relations: A Growing Profession; (Ed)
Outline of Careers, 1927. Ctr: Various, c: Century
Country, Harmonic (N. Y.). a: 163 East 63rd St.,
Office Bernays Buildmg, 26 E. 64th St., New York
21, N. Y., U. S. A." p. 54.
Barnes, Harry Elmer. Social Institutions. N. Y:

Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946. 927pp.
"Skillful advertising, suggested by E. L. Bernays
and others, has popularized the use of the telegraph."
p. 478. A footnote on the same page says erro
neously: "Bernays invented the slogan, 'Don't
write, telegraph.' " Also: "The institution of the
Public Relations Counsel represents the most
sophisticated and subtle development of business
propaganda. The two most distinguished masters of
this type of propaganda have been Ivy Lee and
Edward L. Bernays." p. 568.

"Society in Transition: Problems of a

Changing Age." N. Y: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.
999pp.

In the chapter on "Mass Information and Mass
Propaganda," the author says: "The use of the
public relations counsel represents the most sophisti
cated and subtle development of business propa
ganda. The two most distinguished masters of this
type of propaganda have been Ivy Lee and Edward
L. Bernays. In promoting particular products or
movements, these men have found that direct and
blatant propaganda is very often harmful rather
than helpful. It only serves to increase the preju
dices already in the minds of those to be converted.
Therefore, an indirect line of attack is formulated.
So-called institutes or foundations are created to
serve as the ostensible voice of, or spokesmen for,
the interests served. This gives a sense of research,
authority, and dignity to the propaganda which is
issued. Even reputable scholars are employed to
make studies which seem to support the contentions
advanced in the propaganda." pp. 636-637.

Also the section "Selected References" includes
reference to "Bernays, E. L., Propaganda, Liveright,
1928," p. 988.
Barton, Roger, ed. "Advertising Handbook." N. Y:

Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Footnote reference to ELB under "General Subjects. Bernays, Edward L., Edward L. Bernays Collection on Public Relations, New York. New York Public Library, 1947." p. 802.

Bastian, George C. Editing the Ray's News. Revised by Leland D. Case. N. Y: The Macmillan Company, 1933. 309pp.

Under "Newspaper Problems, Policies, and Ethics; The Radio," bibliographical references to two

standard Bernays books, Crystallizing Public Opinion, and Propaganda, p. 293.

Becker, Carl L; Lerner, Max; Fly, James Lawrence; Cushman, Robert; Biddle, Francis; and Day, Edmund Ezra. Safeguarding Civil Liberties Today. The Edward L. Bernays Lectures of 1944. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1945. 158pp.

Preface by George H. Sabine, Vice-president of Cornell University, records the contribution of the gift to Cornell University by ELB, an alumnus of the Class of 1912, which made these Lectures possible; refers to his belief on the importance of understanding civil liberties in America's social and political life; the volume has been planned "in the hope that . . . our heritage [of civil liberties] might be strengthened." pp. vi-vii.

Benedict, Agnes E. Progress to Freedom. N. Y:

G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942. 309pp.

In the Foreword of this "Story of American Education," "very special thanks" are given by the author to ... "Mr. Edward L. Bernays, for his masterly criticism and practical guidance." p. vii.

Bent, Silas. Machine Made Man. N. Y: Farrar and Rinehart, 1930. 341pp.

ELB is quoted indirectly as saying that the modern publicity man is a special pleader before the court of public opinion, p. 139.

Bercovici, Rion. For Immediate Release. N. Y:

Sheridan House, 1937. 317pp.

A publicity man, chief character of this novel, makes numerous references to ELB: "What has Bernays got that I haven't got? A smoother patter, psychological aura, better contacts. . . . But there's no reason why I can't make the grade!" p. 82; ". . . he looked at the Bernays book with respect. And envy . . ." p. 92; ". . . I'm creeping up on Bernays and the Lee Boys, and they're getting worried." p. 203; a copy of the "Bernays book" is mentioned, p. 93 along with his name among those to whom authorship of "all the stuff written about publicity" is attributed "Bernays . . . Doob . . . Walker . . . Creel . . ." p. 167.

Bickel, Karl A. *New Empires*. Phila: J. B. Lippincott, 1930. 112pp.

ELB is quoted at length from his "recent book, *Propaganda*," as to the importance of radio among the propagandist's tools; its uncertain future development as a competitor of the newspaper as an advertising medium; and as a controlled channel for the publicity of large political, racial, sectarian, economic, or professional groups, pp. 74-76.

Biddle, William W. *Propaganda and Education*. N. Y: Teachers College, Columbia University, Bureau of Publications, 1932. 84pp.

With a footnote reference to his book, *Propaganda*, ELB ["Himself a successful propagandist"] is quoted: " . . . The minority has discovered a powerful help in influencing majorities. It has been found possible to so mold the mind of the masses that they will throw their newly gained strength

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in the desired direction. . . . Propaganda is the executive arm of the invisible government.' Or again, 'But instead of a mind, universal literacy has given him [the common man] rubber stamps, . . . inked with advertising slogans, . . . editorials, . . . published scientific data, . . . trivialities of the tabloids, and the platitudes of history, but quite innocent of original thought . . .' The result is 'to control and regiment the masses according to our

will without their knowing it'." p. 2.

Bingham, Alfred M., and Rodman, Selden, eds.

Challenge to the New Deal. N. Y: Falcon Press,
1934. 284pp.

"... They seem to have learned nothing from the technique of propaganda, as it was carried to perfection by the Lord Northcliffes in wartime England, the Edward Bernays in industrial America, . . ." p. 212.

Binkley, Wilfred ., and Moos, Malcolm C. A

Grammar of Politics: The National Government.

N. Y: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. 760pp.

Footnote reference to ELB's "Attitude Polls Servants or Masters." p. 171. Footnote: "Certainly not all of the electorate is familiar with the findings of the polls. In 1946 it was estimated that only 38 per cent of the people knew the results of the Gallup and Fortune polls. See Harry Field, Paul Lazarsfeld, Claude Robinson and Edward Bernays: 'The Discussion Goes On.' Public Opinion Quarterly (1945-6), 9:404," p. 172.

Bird, Charles. Social Psychology. N. Y. and London: D. Appleton Company, Inc., 1940. 564pp.
Bibliographical references, Chapter IX, Propaganda, to ELB's Crystallizing Public Opinion, and, p. 341, his article in the American Journal of Sociology, 1928, Vol. 33, 958-971, Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and the How.

Bird, George L., and Merwin: Frederic E., eds.

The Newspaper and Society. N. Y: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942. 627pp.

This book is a compilation of statements on newspaper influence. A section entitled "Edward L. Bernays" is taken from "Edward L. Bernays, the Science of Ballyhoo," by John T. Flynn, The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 149, May 1932, pp. 563-565, 569-570. Flynn says in part: "By no system of honest elimination can Edward L. Bernays be excluded from a list of representative men in America. He has made an extraordinary success. He has been something of a pioneer. ... He numbers among his clients power

ful millionaires, great corporations, even royal personages and governments. He has made a great deal of money a mark of importance that no American will deny and, what is more, he has done it in the field of intellectual activity. For, after all, Bernays is a philosopher, not a mere businessman. He is a nephew of that other great philosopher, Dr. Sigmund Freud. Unlike his distinguished uncle, he is not known as a practicing psychoanalyst, but he is a psychoanalyst just the same, for he deals with the science of unconscious mental processes. . . . Ber

nays has both a clear and a very shrewd understanding of his profession. . . . Bernays himself is quite the newest type of public relations specialist, so intelligent and so free from the conventional inhibitions that he assumes almost the character of a phenomenon." The extract describes Bernays' key role in dramatizing Light's Golden Jubilee and the introduction on the market of a new Dodge car, pp. 517-20. Another section of this book, "The Struggle Between Press and Radio," says: "It took the spectacular broadcast of the Dodge Motor Car company on January 4, 1928, an announcement of its new Victory Six, to awaken publishers to the fact that a rival for the advertising dollar had sprung into being. Edward L. Bernays . . . had charge of this event," pp. 540-541. This section is an extract from "20,000,000 Hear Dodge Broadcast," by John R. Lee, *Sales Management*, Vol. XIV, Apr 14, 1928, p. 591.

Block, Marine, ed. *Current Biography*. N. Y: H. W.

Wilson, 1942. 940pp.

Section on ELB with portrait photograph. This biographical sketch says: "If the United States Government had in its cabinet a Secretary of Public Relations a trained psychologist whose business it would be to control the mass mind the logical man for that position would be Edward L. Bernays, United States Publicist No. 1, head of a profession which he built up, publicized, and named: counsel on public relations . . ." pp. 76-79.

Bogardus, Emory S. *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*. N. Y. and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1942. 538pp.
Bibliographical reference, Chapt. XXX, "Public

Opinion," to ELB's article in the American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XXXIII: 957-71, "Manipulating Public Opinion," p. 463.

Bone, Hugh A. "American Politics and the Party System." N. Y: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949, pp. 777.

Among the selected references for the chapter on "The Foundations of Opinion" is Crystallizing Public Opinion, by ELB. p. 39. Among the selected references for the chapter on "Propaganda and Campaign Literature" is Propaganda, by ELB. p. 620.

Boomer, Lucius. Hotel Managment. N. Y: Harper and Brothers, 1938. 341pp.

"... Everyone responsible for hotel administration should study such books as Propaganda, and Crystallizing Public Opinion, by Edward L. Bernays, who helped to develop this new profession," p. 189.

Bower, Robert. The Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science. "Public Opinion Polls and the Politician," Phila: The Academy, Sept 1948. 207pp.

In the section, "Political Implications," there is the statement: "We are no longer led by men, we are led around by the polls," with footnote credit to "E. L. Bernays, 'Attitude Polls Servants or Masters,' Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1945, pp. 264-68." p. 106.

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Brown, Francis James: Hodges, Charles and Roucek, Joseph Slabey, (ed.) "Contemporary World Politics: An Introduction to the Problems of International Relations." N. Y: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., London: Chapman & Hall, Limited, 1940, 780pp.

The chapter on "Moral Disarmament" lists in its

Selected References "Bernays, E. L., Propaganda.

New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1928."

Brock, H. I. Meddlers: Uplifting Moral Uplifters.

N. Y: Ives Washburn, 1930. 307pp.

In the chapter entitled, "Saving the Profiteers' Bacon," describing the meeting of Ford and Edison at Edisonford, on the edge of the Ford airport, the author says: "The super press agent was on the job giving the gesture maximum visibility. It was not Ivy Lee this time, but Edward Bernays. Bernays is a later recruit to this branch of professional wizardry."

Brucker, Herbert. Freedom of Information. N. Y:

The Macmillan Company, 1949. 307pp.

". . . The World War I example of what propaganda could do ... was not lost upon those interested in the business of manipulating public opinion. As one of them, Edward L. Bernays, said later: 'It was only natural, after the war ended, that intelligent persons should ask themselves whether it was not possible to apply a similar technique to the problems of peace.' It was. And the great discovery that the more capable ones like Bernays made was this: that effective policy makes effective propaganda . . ." p. 145. Chapt. XI, "American Ministers of Popular Enlightenment," makes footnote reference to ELB's book, Propaganda, p. 298.

Bryson, Lyman ; Finkelstein, Louis ; and Mac-Iver, R. M. Approaches to Group Understanding. Sixth Symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion. N. Y: Harper & Brothers, 1947. 858pp.

Chapt. XI, "Bridges for Cultural Understanding or, Labor and Public Relations" by Kermit Eby, CIO Department of Education and Research, contains the following comment by Pitman B. Potter in a footnote: "It seems to me that there is some danger today of development of public relations techniques which go beyond the proper bounds of liberal democratic discussion and approach the methods of totalitarian dictators. I have discussed this question in a long book review of Mr. Bernays' latest pamphlet, 'Take Your Place at the Peace Table,' published in the American Political Science Review." p. 110.

In "Contributors to 'Approaches to Group Understanding,' " ELB is listed as "public relations counsel; author, Crystallizing Public Opinion, Speak Up for Democracy, Take Your Place at the Peace Table, and others." p. 821.

Bulletin of the Business Historical Society. See

Addenda, Item 7.

Burnett, Verne. *You and Your Public*. N. Y. and

London: Harper and Brothers, 1943. 194pp.

"... Edward L. Bernays, public relations expert, tells how to build up ethical propaganda for de

mocracy in a book, *Speak Up for Democracy*. . . .

You are shown how ... to work with ... to

plan ... to use all the available machinery . . ."

Chase, Stuart. *Democracy Under Pressure*. N. Y:

The Twentieth Century Fund, 1945. 142pp.

" . . . E. L. Bernays, working for the lobby, produced a 'Joint Committee for Sound and Democratic Consumer Legislation,' and to make assurance doubly sure, a 'National Advisory Council of Consumers and Producers'." p. 42.

. *Government in Business*. N. Y: The Macmillan Company, 1935. 296pp.

Extract from an interview with ELB, reported in the *New York World-Telegram*, April 9, 1935. Bernays points out the growing influence of a quickened rate of change on "opinion management or pressure politics or the technique of public relations or group leadership" which can [now] "assert itself much more effectively." p. 263.

Chayer, Mary Ella. *Nursing in Modern Society*.

N. Y: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947. 288pp.

A brief discussion of the findings by ELB on nursing economics, based on a survey among nurses, published in April 1946. Footnote reference to the article, "Nurses and Their Professional Organizations," by ELB in *American Journal of Nursing*, Vol. 46:229, p. 35 with numerous other references to articles by him in the same periodical for the months of May, November, December, 1945; January, February, March, April, June, July and September, 1946. pp. 39, 265.

Childs, Harwood L. *An Introduction to Public*

Opinion. N. Y: John Wiley and Sons, Inc; and

London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1940. 151pp.

Under "Public Relations," bibliographical reference
to ELB's book, *Propaganda*, p. 145.

A Reference Guide to the Study of Public

Opinion. Princeton: Princeton University Press,
1934. 105pp.

In the "Acknowledgement," ELB is described by the author as "among those whose genius enables them to bridge the chasm between the laboratories of academic endeavor and the world of practice." He is credited with the suggestion which led to the publication of the book, along with practical aid which is gratefully acknowledged. This bibliography and study outline contains frequent references to ELB's books *Propaganda*, pp. 9, 13, 36, 53 and *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, pp. 13, 18, 51, 53, 59, 73. The preface is by ELB.

Clough, Reginald. "Public Relations," in *Encyclopedia Americana*, Vol. 22, N. Y. and Chicago: Americana Corporation, 1948. 800pp.
Several mentions of ELB, as a "leading pioneer" in the field of public relations, and as "an outside counselor from the time he opened his own business," with bibliographical reference to *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, pp. 770, 771, 773.

Gochran, Thomas G., and Miller, William. *The Age of Enterprise*. N. Y: The Macmillan Company, 1942. 394pp.

In this "social history of industrial America," "Edward Bernays, perhaps the ablest public relations man . . . , himself a nephew of Freud," is freely quoted, with footnote references to his work, "Propaganda." His belief is approved that "There is no detail too trivial to influence the public in a favorable or unfavorable sense." pp. 310, 337. ELB quoted as saying: "Human desires are the steam which makes the social machine work," p. 328. Also: "In making up its mind," said ELB, "a group's first impulse is usually to follow the example of a trusted leader. ... As civilization has become more complex, the technical means have been invented and developed by which opinion may be

regimented'." p. 331.

Columbia Encyclopedia: Compiled and Edited at
Columbia University. N. Y: Columbia Uni
versity Press, 1935. 1949pp.

In the article on "Propaganda," reference to ELB's
book Propaganda, p. 1445.

Cooley, Charles Horton: Angell, Robert Cooley:
Carr, Lowell Julliard. "Introductory Sociol
ogy." N. Y: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. 516pp.

Under "Public Opinion as Group Intelligence,"
bibliographical reference to ELB's book Crystallizing
Public Opinion, p. 499.

Crane, George W. "Psychology Applied." Chicago:
Northwestern University Press, 1941. 640pp.
Bibliographical reference to ELB's book Crystallizing
Public Opinion, p. 375.

Crawford, Kenneth. The Pressure Boys. N. Y:
Julian Messner, 1939. 308pp.

In this book, described by its author as "the inside
story of lobbying in America," ELB is presented as
among "principal outside competitors" of Washington
public relations men. "A nephew of Sigmund Freud
named Edward L. Bernays . . . launches an insti
tute at the drop of a hat . . ." p. 33; In reference to
the Tugwell Bill: "No less an expert than Edward L.
Bernays, the big institute and foundation man from
New York, worked on the project . . . under the
sponsorship of the Joint Committee for Sound and
Democratic Consumer Legislation. . . . The Joint
Committee eventually gave way to the National
Advisory Council of Consumers and Producers."
pp. 86, 87.

Creel, George. How We Advertised America: The
First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Com
mittee on Public Information that Carried the
Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the
Globe. N. Y. and London: Harper & Brothers,
1920. 465pp.

The author says: "Through various organizations of United States exporters to foreign countries, an Export Service was established under Mr. Edward L. Bernays, beginning with Latin America and finally taking in a large part of Europe. Our articles and photographs were printed regularly in the several large export journals, and from our articles we made, in various languages, brief inserts telling of war aims and activities to be inclosed with business

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catalogues and also to be sent in tens of thousands of letters mailed weekly from the United States. In obtaining means of distribution, the confidential lists of many great commercial interests were used. The exporters put themselves solidly behind every resident commissioner, and the success of the pictorial service was entirely due to the fact that six hundred and fifty branches of American business houses scattered over the world put all their window space at the Committee's disposal." p. 266.

Crowther, Samuel. "Public Opinion, Private Business and Public Relations." See Addenda, Item 10.

Dawson, Carl A., and Gettys, Warner E. An

Introduction to Sociology. N. Y: The Ronald

Press Company, 1929. 866pp.

Under "Explicit Controls," bibliographical reference: "Bernays, Edward L., Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and the How. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 958-971. A treatment of the mechanism to be employed in generating and controlling public opinion." p. 705.

Desmond, Robert W. "The Press and World Affairs." N. Y. and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1937. 421pp.
Footnote reference to ELB's book Crystallizing Public Opinion, p. 166.

Dewitt Clinton High School, New York. The Clintonian [Seventh Annual]. N. Y: The School, 1907. 162pp.

"E. Bernays, '08" is listed under members of "Crafts", p. 55, and "E. Bernays, '09" under Executive Committee, Biological Field Club, p. 56; also, under members of the Press Committee, p. 58.

, The Clintonian [Eighth Annual]. N. Y:

The School, 1908. 163pp.

Photograph of "Edward Bernays," with summary of his extra-curricular activities, as member or officer of "Magpie Board, Press Committee, Biological Field Club, Cross Country Squad, Crafts Club, City History Club, Memorabilia Society, Athletic Association." p. 107.

The Clintonian [50th Anniversary Issue].

N. Y: The School, 1947. 84pp.

Under "Alumni of Renown," photograph of "Edward L. Bernays, '08, Author and Counsel of Public Relations." p. 4.

Dobyns, Fletcher. The Amazing Story of Repeal.

Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1940.

457pp.

This book about the repeal of the 18th Amendment, written from a Prohibitionist viewpoint, tells of the alleged role played by ELB, "America's most resourceful public relations counsel," as "director of publicity" for the United Brewers' Industrial Foundation. "The effectiveness of this propaganda is shown by a booklet that was given wide distribution, Comments on the United Brewers' Industrial Foundation, Its Purposes, Functions and Activities, by Leaders of American Thought and Opinion. It contains statements by a long list of professors, business-

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men, labor leaders, editors, mayors, congressmen and others, showing that they had been converted to the idea that beer is America's way to prosperity, health and true temperance." pp. 409-410.

Doob, Leonard W. Propaganda. N. Y: Henry Holt

and Company, 1935. 424pp.

Reference to the debate on propaganda between ELB and Everett Dean Martin, p. 84. Footnote: "Edward L. Bernays has justified his 'profession' by pointing out the inevitability of propaganda in all parts of society (see the discussion of his philosophy on p. 195ff)," p. 88. Footnote reference, p. 156, to ELB's article "The Public Utility That Is Misunderstood," *Public Utilities Fortnightly*, Nov 27, 1930.

An 11-page critical discussion of the public relations techniques and achievements of ELB. The main theme is: "The society which Bernays helps to direct has made him possible," pp. 195-205. ELB is incorrectly described as a "nephew-in-law of Freud," p. 195; Light's Golden Jubilee is called "one of the most astonishing pieces of propaganda ever engineered in this country during peace time," p. 195; The article by John T. Flynn, "Edward L. Bernays," *Atlantic Monthly*, 1932, Vol. 149, p. 564, is quoted to the effect that Bernays was working "not for Edison or for Henry Ford, but for very important interests which saw in this historic anniversary an opportunity to exploit and publicize the uses of electric light," p. 196; ELB's book *Propaganda* is quoted on the relation of propaganda and society: "The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society." p. 196; Doob criticizes this: "Bernays' notion, then, seems to be the application of a laissez-faire system of economics, with its attending competition and individualism, to the sphere of public opinion." This is followed by quotations from ELB's book *Propaganda* and his article, "Our Debt to Propaganda," *Forum*, Vol. 81, p. 146, and an "address by Bernays before a Women's Club in New York City," pp. 197-198. Further analysis and quotations, pp. 199-204, are followed by the statement: "The amazing thing about Bernays' technique is that his desired integration is generally segmental, and yet he uses central attitudes to bring about that. . . . When enough people's central attitudes were aroused, the conditions which brought about this arousal were 'news' to the country's press; as a result, Bernays' exploits received wide publicity and in this way he secured a perceptual advantage," pp. 204-205.

Elfenbein, Julien. *Business Journalism*. N. Y. and

London: Harper and Brothers, 1945. 341pp.

"Two of the best-known publicists of modern times are the late Ivy Lee, . . . and the nephew of Dr. Sigmund Freud, Edward L. Bernays, 'U. S. Publicist No. 1,' according to Time." There is a footnote reference also, p. 254, to "The Science of Ballyhoo," by John T. Flynn, Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 149, May, 1932, a profile of ELB.

Emery, Edwin. History of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1950. 263pp.

Chapter VIII, entitled "Advertising and Publicity," contains the following: "The third phase of activity, which brought into being the concept of the public relations counsel, developed in the early 1920's. Edward L. Bernays, Ivy Lee, and other leaders insisted that while the public should be informed of business activities, it was necessary also that business should understand public attitudes and attempt to operate within the defined limits of the public interest. The publicity man not only had a responsibility to his clients, but to the general public. Out of this philosophy emerged the modern practice of public relations." pp. 126-127.

Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Vol. 12.

N. Y: The Macmillan Company, 1934.

In the article on "Propaganda," the list of books to consult includes ELB's books Crystallizing Public Opinion and Propaganda, p. 528.

Fairchild, Henry Pratt. "General Sociology." N. Y:

John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1934. 634pp.

Bibliographical reference in Chapter XI, "Social Control," to ELB's Crystallizing Public Opinion, p. 584.

Fine, Benjamin. Educational Publicity. N. Y. and

London: Harper and Brothers, 1943. 320pp.

"Experts in the field of publicity are likewise agreed that censorship has no place in a sound program. ... A ... position is held by Edward L. Bernays: 'Everyone is a propagandist for some platform, and it is the freedom with which all may employ the methods of propaganda that makes for safety and stability in a democratic country.' " p. 223. Also a bibliographical reference to ELB's

book, Crystallizing Public Opinion, p. 311.

Fleischman, Doris E. Careers for Women. N. Y:

Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928. 514pp.

This "Practical Guide to Opportunity for Women in American Business" written "by 43 Successful American Business Women," is dedicated "To My Husband, Edward L. Bernays." The chapter on Public Relations is by Doris E. Fleischman, described as "Counsel on Public Relations, in association with Edward L. Bernays, Counsel of Public Relations to Governments, Industries, Corporations and Trade Organizations." pp. 385-399.

Funk, Charles Earle. What's the Name Please?

N. Y: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1936.

176pp.

In this "guide to the correct pronunciation of current prominent names," there is the listing, "Bernays, Edward L. specialist in publicity Eddie Bernays (rimes with her ways) Starts a new craze. Finds that it pays." p. 20.

Gaige, Crosby. Dining with My Friends: Adventures with Epicures. N. Y: Crown Publishers, 1949. 292pp.

Under the heading "Edward L. Bernays," Crosby Gaige says: "Wherever in Manhattan good eating is practiced publicly or privately, you are bound to encounter at one time or another Doris and Edward Bernays. Mr. Bernays is one of the leading American authorities on public relations." p. 11.

Gauvreau, Emile. My Last Million Readers. N. Y:

E. P. Button and Company, Inc., 1941. 488pp.

"... Macfadden appointed a board of editorial advisers who induced him to retain Edward L. Bernays, a celebrated counsel of public relations who met with us regularly, for an attractive fee, to give our organization a new sense of direction. Bernays ruled out Macfadden's barefoot walks to his office and his physical culture showmanship, which the publisher abandoned with reluctance. . . . Under the direction of Bernays, the publisher was sent on a precipitous trip to London to address the House of Commons as the Father of Physical Culture . . ." p. 130.

Gillette, John M., and Reinhardt, James M.

"Problems of a Changing Social Order." N. Y:

American Book Company, 1942. 824pp.

Bibliographical reference, Chapter 26, "Public Opinion and Its Agencies" to ELB's *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, p. 659.

Goldman, Eric F. *Two-Way Street*. Boston: Bellman

Publishing Company, 1948. 23pp.

In this book, the author, an Associate Professor of History at Princeton University, studies the rise and development of public relations in the United States from 1827 to the present. Public relations is seen as having developed through three stages: "the public be fooled" of the press agent; "the public be informed" of the earlier publicity man; and "the public be understood" of the public relations counsel. The narrative is highlighted by two focal figures in modern public relations, Ivy Lee and ELB.

ELB is credited with developing the third or "public be understood" phase of public relations, and with coining the phrase "public relations counsel." The author tells how ELB gave public relations advice to Thomas Masaryk which resulted in making October 28 the founding date of the Czechoslovak republic. ELB's *Crystallizing Public Opinion* is described as "the first book-length writing devoted exclusively to public relations." Outlining ELB's career, the author highlights early clients like Caruso, Elsie Ferguson, Ruth Chatterton, the Diaghileff Russian Ballet and Nijinsky, sponsored by the Metropolitan Opera Company. The editor of *Harper's Bazaar*, recommending ELB for a post with George Creel's U. S. Committee on Public Information in World War I, is quoted: "I consider E. L. Bernays one of the shrewdest and most effective publicity men in this country."

The author also gives a detailed description of ELB's campaign which made *Damaged Goods* acceptable to the public and a box-office success by creating the Sociological Fund, consisting of leading American men and women. In 1923, "Bernays pushed toward the professionalization of public relations by arranging with New York University to offer the first course in the subject ever to appear in the curriculum of an American university. The same year Bernays published his *Crystallizing Public Opinion*." Sum

marizing the main principles of this book, the author says: "Bernays declared the primary function of the

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public relations man to be the changing of both company policy and public attitudes so as to bring about a rapport between the two. . . . The public relations counsel as described in *Crystallizing Public Opinion* marks the third stage in the evolution of public relations thought in the United States. . . . The public was to be understood understood as an intricate system of group relationships and by an expert with the technical equipment, the ethics, and the social view associated with the lawyer, doctor, or teacher."

After 1923, the author says, ELB maintained his position of leadership. "Some of his services for clients, most notably his work for General Electric and Westinghouse in connection with the Golden Jubilee of the electric light, have become classics in the field. . . . But no activity of Bernays' has been more persistent or more skillful than his public relations for the public relations counsel. . . . 'Bernays had more to do with developing acceptance for PR and public relations counsel than any half dozen other persons,' William H. Baldwin, of Baldwin and Mermey, summarized in 1948." pp. 12-21.

Goode, Kenneth M. *How to Turn People into Gold*. N. Y. and London: Harper and Brothers, 1929. 221pp.

ELB's book *Propaganda* is quoted several times; on the new salesmanship which utilizes societal formations, p. 47; on the group mind, p. 93; on advertising appropriations, p. 198.

, and Powel, Harford, jr. *What about*

Advertising. N. Y. and London: Harper and Brothers, 1927. 399pp.

"As Mr. Edward L. Bernays puts it: 'He creates

events so interesting and important they inevitably

get talked about ...," etc., p. 39.

Gras, N. S. B. *Business and Capitalism*. N. Y: F. S.

Crofts and Company, 1939. 408pp.

This "Introduction to Business History," says:

". . . Another such counselor is Edward L. Bernays.

. . . His distinctive services have been given to the federal government, business firms, and trade associations." p. 296.

Graves, W. Brooke, ed. *Readings in Public Opinion*. N. Y. and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1928. 1281pp.

This book of readings contains a description of Contact, "an extremely interesting little paper" published by ELB, p. 103; a long quotation from Crystallizing Public Opinion, by him, on the importance of public relations, p. 437; a two-page quotation from the same book by Bernays on the role of the public relations counsel, p. 594-596; another from the same book on the types of advice a public relations counsel may give his clients, p. 600; a footnote reference to Contact, p. 601; a bibliographical reference to Crystallizing Public Opinion, p. 601 ; a quotation from "a short address" by ELB included in "The 3-Phase System for the Mass Production of Style Goods," published by the New England Council, p. 601; footnote reference to "a very excel-

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lent chapter of Edward L. Bernays' Crystallizing Public Opinion" which "gives an outline of methods practicable in modifying the point of view of a group," p. 761; another to "Putting Politics on the Market," an article by ELB in the Independent, May 19, 1928, "a plea for a new and more effective method of political campaigning," p. 921; a long quotation from Crystallizing Public Opinion on "the pressure of the public for admittance to the mysteries of foreign affairs." p. 1264.

Grey, Lennox, ed. *What Communication Means Today: The Challenge to Teachers of English*. Chicago: National Council of Teachers of English, 1944. 75pp.

Footnote references to ELB's book Crystallizing Public Opinion, pp. 8, 32. Also: "In 1923, as the country was returning to business as usual, Edward

Bernays reviewed in Crystallizing Public Opinion the lessons of the war from the point of view of the public relations counsel and the advertiser who have, of course, made very large contributions to our understanding of the arts of communication," p. 32. This is followed by a long quotation three paragraphs from ELB's book. Then: "Bernays described the 'new profession of public relations counsel* in the light of various principles 'substantiated by the findings of psychologists, sociologists, and newspapermen.

"Astute as Mr. Bernays was, he could hardly fore see the significance of radio, nor did Walter Lippmann." p. 32.

Griffith, Coleman R. "An Introduction to Applied Psychology" N. Y: The Macmillan Company, 1937. 679pp.

Footnote reference to ELB's book Crystallizing Public Opinion, p. 163.

Griswold, Glenn, and Griswold, Denny. Your Public Relations. N. Y: Funk & Wagnalls Company-Modern Industry Magazine, 1948. 634pp.

ELB's contribution to public relations is acknowledged in an extended discussion: "From the first World War and the period of adjustment which followed came many public relations techniques that are still effective today. From that period also came some of the most effective elements of leadership. In addition to Ivy Lee and Arthur Page, George Creel and Edward L. Bernays made their substantial and lasting contributions to public relations. . . . The position of Edward L. Bernays in the history of public relations is more debatable and more often debated than that of any other man. He must be recognized as one of the founders and leaders. Perhaps as much as Ivy Lee it was Bernays who taught business management that public relations belongs at the policy-making level. He gave the field recognition, professional status, and documentation in a day when few leaders commanded respect and attention." p. 8.

Haas, C. R. Theorie et Technique de la Publicite.

Paris: Dunod, 1948. 213pp.

Bibliographical reference to Edward L. Bernays'

book Propaganda, ed. Liveright Publishing Corp, New York, 1928, p. 208.

Hacker, L. M; Selekman, B. M; Seward, R. T; Dickson, W. J; Smith, T. V. The New

Industrial Relations. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1948. 150pp.

The foreword by M. P. Gather wood, Dean, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, acknowledges the "grant from Edward L. Bernays" to sponsor this "series of lectures by recognized authorities on various phases of industrial relations problems," p. vi. The paper "Industrial Relations and Modern Society," by T. V. Smith, formerly Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago, and now, 1948, Maxwell Professor of Citizenship and Philosophy, Syracuse University, contains the following comment: ". . . It is to the easing, though not to the erasing, of the conflicts which industry enshrines, from the focus to the fringe, that the lectures of which this article was part were dedicated. That series of lectures bore a name that of Bernays distinguished in the delicate field of public relations. . ." p. 123.

Harlow, Rex F., and Black, Marvin M. Practical Public Relations. N. Y: Harper and Brothers, 1947. 442pp.

Characterization of ELB by the Atlantic Monthly as "something of a pioneer" in public relations is noted; reference is made to his being the author of several books; his division of United States public relations development into four main periods is summarized; his comment on the "Remuneration of the Public Relations Worker" is quoted; there are numerous footnote references to Public Relations, ELB's Vocational and Professional Monographs, No. 58. pp. 23, 371, 372.

Harral, Stewart. Public Relations for Higher Education. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942. 292pp.

ELB is described as "best-known of public relations counsels today," and as "perhaps the most articulate of all members of the profession," p. 241; his re

minder that "certain symbols have lost their value, . . . have lost the meanings they stood for" is recalled, p. 261; and, among "Suggested Readings Steps in Setting up a Program," are listed his book *Crystallizing Public Opinion* [also, under "Ethics"]; *Speak Up for Democracy*; articles in *Annual Proceedings of the American College Publicity Association*, 1936; *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1935; and *Saturday Review of Literature*, 1941. pp. 271, 284, 285.

Harriman, Margaret Case. "The Vicious Circle: The Story of the Algonquin Round Table." Illustrated by Al Hirschfeld. N. Y.: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1951, 310 pp. See Addenda, Item 12.

Hayes, E. P. *Activities of the President's Emergency Committee for Employment*. Concord, N. H.: The Rumford Press, 1936. 151pp.

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"Edward L. Bernays, Public Relations Counsel, New York, N. Y.," listed among "Members of the President's Emergency Committee for Employment", p. vii; credit is given to his initiating the work of the Public Relations Section of the Committee, as director, before the professional staff was expanded and paid for from foundation funds, p. 151.

Hepner, Harry Walker. *Psychology Applied to Life and Work*. N. Y.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946. 771pp.

Bibliographical reference: "Bernays, E. L., *Crystallizing Public Opinion*" p. 573.

. *Psychology in Modern Business*. N. Y.:

Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1931. 728pp.

Footnote reference: "Bernays, Edward L., *Propaganda*." p. 496.

Herring, E. Pendleton. "Public Administration and the Public Interest." N. Y. and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936, 416pp. The chapter on "Publishing Administrative Activ

ities" says: "Edward L. Bernays has gone as far as to suggest that 'the United States Government should create a Secretary of Public Relations as a member of the President's Cabinet. The function of this official should be to interpret America's aims and ideals throughout the world, and to keep the citizens of this country in touch with governmental activities and the reasons which prompt them. He would, in short, interpret the people to the government and the government to the people.' " Footnote reference to ELB's book *Propaganda*, p. 370.

The Politics of Democracy. N. Y: W. W.

Norton and Company, 1940. 468pp.

ELB's book *Propaganda* is quoted on the failure of politicians to use modern public relations methods, p. 257.

Hodges, Charles. *The Background of International Relations*. N. Y: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1931. 743pp.

Discussion follows mention of ELB's reference to propaganda as a power in the Great War "that opened the eyes of the intelligent few in all departments of life to the possibilities of regimenting the public mind," p. 518. In the "Reading References" under "Public Opinion in World Affairs" ELB's book *Crystallizing Public Opinion* is mentioned; under "Government, Press, and Propaganda," his *Propaganda* is also listed, pp. 722, 723. Chapter Note 18 gives the author's comment on ELB's quoted remarks, p. 725.

Hope, Constance. *Publicity is Broccoli*. Indianapolis and N. Y: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941. 264pp.

"As every serious student of the business knows, the great Edward L. Bernays got his start in life through musical publicity. . . . Bernays, who worked for concert manager F. C. Coppicus and launched, among others, a young Italian tenor named Caruso, next branched out into publicizing music instruments. . . . Bernays is now a famous Public Relations Counsel." p. 142.

Hotchkiss, George Burton. *An Outline of Advertising*. Revised Edition. N. Y: The Macmillan

Company, 1940. 631pp.

Bibliographical reference: "E. L. Bernays, Crystallizing Public Opinion." p. 596.

"An Outline of Advertising: Its Philosophy, Science, Art and Strategy." Third Edition. N.Y: The Macmillan Company, 1950. 605pp.

Footnote reference to "Edward L. Bernays- 'Fifty Million Readers Can't Be Wrong'." p. 494. Bibliographical reference to ELB's book Crystallizing Public Opinion, p. 565.

Hughes, Adella Prentiss. Music Is My Life.

Cleveland and N. Y: The World Publishing

Company, 1947. 319pp.

The author praises ELB's work for the Russian Ballet, "placed ... in [his] hands [by] the Metropolitan Opera people." "No project was ever better prepared for in ... publicity and promotion. . . . The value and quality of the . . . material that came from his office has never been equalled by any other organization within my experience . . ." p. 203.

Husing, Ted. Ten Years before the Mike. N. Y:

Farrar and Rinehart, 1935. 298pp.
"Golden Jubilee of Light" is described as "the great radio event of 1929 . . . luscious name, fragrant with the poetry of a public relations counsel's imagination . . . , a General Electric publicity stunt hatched in the brain of Edward L. Bernays . . . , [as among] press-agent feats . . . , tops." p. 127.

International Who's Who. London: Europa

Publication, Ltd., 13th Edition, 1949. 1015pp.
Biographical sketch: "Bernays, Edward L., B. S. American Public Relations Counsel." p. 69.

Irion, Frederick C. Public Opinion and Propaganda. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, N. Y: 1950. 782pp.

Chapter XXII, "Future Methods," contains a section on "Propaganda Analysis" which says: "Edward L. Bernays set the pace in the 1920's by main

taining that propaganda will never die out. Intelligent men must realize that propaganda is the modern instrument by which they can fight for productive ends and help bring order out of chaos. Bernays said that what was wrong with education and social work, to mention but two fields, was that they were not receiving sufficient publicity."

Irwin, Will. *Propaganda and the News*. N. Y. and London : Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936. 325pp.

Reference to "the professional whom Edward L. Bernays afterward called the Public Relations Counselor," p. 112; with subsequent discussion as to how "Edward L. Bernays, in his clever book *Propaganda*, has described and defended this process as regards purely commercial uses, and . . . gives examples of press-agentry which rise above routine and achieve real art . . ." pp. 117-118.

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Johnson, James Weldon. *Along This Way*. N. Y.:

The Viking Press, 1933. 417pp.

Describing the conference which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held at great risk in Atlanta in ... 1920, the author says: "Edward L. Bernays . . . handled the publicity for us." p. 356.

Key, V. O., jr. *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups*. N. Y.: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1947. 814pp.

Discussing the need to "humanize" Calvin Coolidge prior to the Presidential campaign of 1924, the author cites "Manipulating Public Opinion: the Why and the How," by ELB, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 33, 1928. pp. 958-71.

"... [it] was suggested that an event in which the most human groups would be brought into juxtaposition with the president would have the desired results. Actors and actresses were invited to break fast with Mr. Coolidge at the White House. The country felt that a man in the White House who

could laugh with Al Jolson and the Dolly sisters was not frigid and unsympathetic." pp. 584-585.

Knight, Bruce Winton. How to Run a War. N. Y:

Alfred A. Knopf, 1936. 243pp.

"For more dignified ballyhoo, you want the arts of an Ivy Lee or an Edward L. Bernays." Mention in subsequent detail of "Light's Golden Jubilee," as an example, pp. 61, 62.

Konvitz, Milton R. The Constitution and Civil Rights. N. Y: Columbia University Press, 1947. 254pp.

Footnote reference to Francis Biddle, "Civil Rights and the Federal Law," in Safeguarding Civil Liberties Today, Edward L. Bernays Lectures, Cornell University, 1945. p. 47.

Krows, Arthur Edwin. Play Production in America. N. Y: Henry Holt and Company, 1916. 414pp.

Reference to "the stupendous national campaign for the Serge de Diaghileff Ballet Russe, so magnificently waged by Edward L. Bernays," p. 303, who "struck a newer field of co-operative press work" in metropolitan department store daily advertising, p. 333, and whose classification of press matter for the ballet's road tour according to newspaper departments "probably set a precedent." p. 336.

Lambert, Richard S. Propaganda. London:

Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1938. 161pp.

This English book quotes ELB, "an American writer" as saying: "The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country. . . . In theory, everybody buys the best and cheapest commodities offered him on the market. In practice, if everyone went around pricing, and chemically testing before purchasing, the dozens of soaps or fabrics or brands of bread which are for sale, economic life would be hopelessly jammed. To avoid

such confusion, society consents to have its choice narrowed to ideas and objects brought to its attention through propaganda of all kinds. There is consequently a vast and continuous effort going on to capture our minds in the interests of some policy or commodity or idea." pp. 32-33. There is also a passage about ELB: "After Ivy Lee, the best-known public relations counsel in America is Edward L. Bernays, who the point is of interest married a niece of the famous psychologist Freud." p. 98; this is an error as Bernays is himself a nephew of Freud's. "Bernays achieved in October 1929 what Doob describes as 'one of the most astonishing pieces of propaganda ever engineered in this country (U.S.A.) during peace-time.' This was to work up a national commemoration of Edison's invention of the incandescent lamp with Edison and the President of the U.S.A. cooperating, the Government issuing a special stamp, and Henry Ford reconstructing Edison's birthplace and laboratory all for the benefit of the electric light interests, who saw in this historic anniversary a chance to exploit and publicize the use of electric light." pp. 98-99. There is also a summary, with many direct quotations, of sections of ELB's book *Propaganda*, pp. 99-100.

Landis, Paul H. *Social Control*. Phila., N. Y: J. B.

Lippincott, 1939. 507pp.

Bibliographical reference: "Bernays, E. L., 'Freedom of Propaganda; Constructive Forming of Public Opinion,' *Vital Speeches*, vol. 2, pp. 744-746. Sept 1, 1936." p. 205.

Landry, Robert J. *This Fascinating Radio Business*.

Indianapolis and N. Y: The Bobbs-Merrill

Company, 1946. 343pp.

This book tells of a woman, whose concern "about the bad name of propaganda" led to her offering Edward L. Bernays "a substitute designation, 'incumation' ('incu' . . . from 'incubate'; 'mation' from 'information')." p. 245.

LaPiere, Richard T. *Collective Behavior*. N. Y. and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938. 577pp.

Under Chapt. XII, "Public Behavior," footnote

references: "E. L. Bernays, 'Manipulating Public Opinion,' Amer. J. Social., 1928, Vol. 33, pp. 958-971." p. 299. Also, "Bernays, E. L., Propaganda, 1928." p. 295.

, and Farnsworth, Paul R. Social Psychology. N. Y. and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1942. 511pp.

A footnote reference to ELB's Crystallizing Public Opinion as one of the books which give "some idea of the complexities of the art of propaganda," p. 347. A footnote reference to his Propaganda as one of two books "written by recognized masters in the art of personalizing corporations and of giving good names to men who need and can pay for them," p. 347. In the Appendix notes, and in the Bibliography and Author Index, references to these two works, as well as to: "Bernays, E. L., 1928, 'Manipulating Public

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Opinion: The Why and How', Amer. J. Social., Vol. 33, pp. 958-971." pp. 451, 452, 458.

Larson, Henrietta M. Guide to Business History.

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948.

1181pp.

Reference to, and brief description of, " Bernays, Edward L., ed. An Outline of Careers. N. Y: Doran, 1927", pp. 737, 738. Mention of "The Evolution of a Profession" by ELB, as among articles in Public Relations Directory and Yearbook, N. Y., 1945. p. 792.

Lasswell, Harold D. Democracy Through Public Opinion. N. Y: Banta Publishing Company, 1941. 175pp.

"Edward Bernays directed Latin American news during the War period, and later became an influential figure in the field of public relations." p. 77.

. Propaganda Technique in the World War.

N. Y: Peter Smith, 1938. 233pp.

Under "General Studies of Public Opinion and Propaganda," bibliographical reference to ELB's book *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, p. 225.

. *Public Opinion in War and Peace*. Washington: National Association of Secondary-School Principals, and National Council for the Social Studies, 1943. 68pp.

Bibliographical reference: to ELB's book *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, "by a public relations counsel; summarizes several campaigns." p. 47.

, and Blumenstock, Dorothy. *World*

Revolutionary Propaganda. N. Y. and London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939. 393pp.

Footnote reference: "See *Universities Pathfinders in Public Opinion*," A Survey by Edward L. Bernays, in collaboration with Doris E. Fleischman, N. Y., 1937. p. 7.

; Casey, Ralph D; and Smith, Bruce

Lannes. *Propaganda and Promotional Activities*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1935. 450pp.

This annotated bibliography lists ELB's *Crystallizing Public Opinion* "by a leading public relations counsel," and *Propaganda*, p. 32; Also lists: Bernays, Edward L. "The Press Agent Has His Day," *Printers' Ink*, Vol. 110: pp. 107-108, February 26, 1920. p. 264; and, Pringle, Henry F. "Mass Psychologists," *American Mercury*, Vol. 19, No. 155-162, Feb., 1930 [on Edward L. Bernays]. p. 266.

Lee, Alfred McClung. *The Daily Newspaper in America*. N. Y: The Macmillan Company, 1937. 797pp.

A passage about Ivy Lee's motto: "Accuracy, Authenticity, Interest," points out that he made it his business "to present only topics of real interest, phrased so as to attract attention of both editors and readers never sensational, never libelous, always accurate, always trustworthy, always readable." The author adds: "The viewpoint Lee thus outlined, although later refined by him and by such as E L. Bernays, became and remains essentially that used by leading corporate press agents or as they

prefer to be called 'counsels on public relations.' " pp. 440-441. ELB's book Propaganda is quoted on the importance of propaganda in "whatever of social importance is done today." p. 464. "E. L. Bernays dramatized the services of the power industry in promoting Light's Golden Jubilee on October 21, 1929." p. 466. The Appendix contains bibliographical references to ELB's books Crystallizing Public Opinion and Propaganda, p. 764.

, ed. New Outline of The Principle of

Sociology. N. Y: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1946. 355pp.

Bibliographical references, under "Selected Readings," of Edward L. Bernays' book Propaganda. p. 197.

Lewis, Sinclair. It Can't Happen Here. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1935. 458pp.

"In the greatest of all native American arts (next to the talkies, and those spirituals in which Negroes express their desire to go to heaven, to St. Louis, or almost any place distant from the romantic old plantations), namely, in the art of Publicity, Lee Sarason was in no way inferior even to such acknowledged masters as Edward Bernays, the late Theodore Roosevelt, Jack Dempsey and Upton Sinclair." p. 88.

Logan, Edward B., ed. The American Political Scene. Revised Edition. N. Y. and London: Harper and Brothers, 1938. 311pp.

Two footnote references to, and/or from, ELB's book, Propaganda, the second of which delineates briefly his "strategy of publicity" in reference to the political campaign, pp. 227, 231.

Logan, Spencer. A Negro's Faith in America.

N. Y: The Macmillan Company, 1946. 88pp.

Adele Franklin, instructor in charge of all-day school activities in New York City's Public School 194, is mentioned as "recent winner of the Edward Bernays \$1000 award for outstanding contribution to the cause of democracy in education." p. 51.

Lowell, Joan. *The Cradle of the Deep*. N. Y: Simon and Schuster, 1929. 261pp.

Dedication: "To Edward L. Bernays and Hiram Kelly Motherwell who encouraged me to write this book."

Lowen, Walter A., and Watson, Lillian Eichler.

How to Get a Job and Win Success in Advertising.

N. Y: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941. 382pp.
Footnote reference to *Careers for Men*, Edward L. Bernays, editor, 1939. p. 300.

Lumley, Frederick E. *Principles of Sociology*.
N. Y. and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935. 461pp.

Footnote reference to "E. Bernays, 'Propaganda.'" p. 434.

. *The Propaganda Menace*. N. Y: The Century Company, 1933. 454pp.

Footnote reference to ELB's article, "The Minority Rules," *The Bookman*, April 1927; to his book

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Crystallizing Public Opinion; and to John T. Flynn's article, "Edward L. Bernays: The Science of Ballyhoo," *Atlantic Monthly*, May 12, 1932, p. 26. Footnote references to ELB's book *Propaganda*, pp. 91, 93, 102, 103. Quotation used by Bernays in *Contact* No. 9, on the importance of frankness in public relations, p. 106. Footnote reference to *Propaganda*, p. 109, 130. Quotation used by ELB in *Contact* No. 20, on the difficulty of defining propaganda, p. 417-418.

Lundberg, Ferdinand. *America's Sixty Families*.

N. Y: The Citadel Press, 1946. 578pp.
Footnote reference, quoting Prof. T. V. Smith, then of the University of Chicago, defining the "Plutogogue," as "the voice of the wealthy when they can no longer speak for themselves, 'the successor of the plutocrat of other days. . . . Not Allah, but Allah's public relations counsel," and including "our late Ivy Lee and our ever present Edward Bernays." p. 313.

Lyons, George J., and Martin, Harmon C. The Strategy of Job-Finding. N. Y: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1944. 408pp.

Bibliographical reference: "Bernays, Edward L., ed. Careers for Men: A Practical Guide to Opportunity in Business. N. Y. 1939." p. 395.

Me Bride, Mary Margaret, ed. How to Become a Successful Advertising Woman. N. Y. and Toronto: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948. 259pp.
The chapter on "Futures in Public Relations," by Caroline Hood, Director of Public Relations, Rockefeller Center, Inc., says: "A sound public relations program has actually little to do with press agency. Edward L. Bernays, who is described by Time magazine as 'United States Publicist No. 1,' says that public relations is just what it says it is: 'relations with the public.'" pp. 114-115. The same chapter contains a long statement by ELB on opportunities for women in the profession of public relations, p. 124-125.

McCamy, James L. "Government Publicity." Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. 275pp.
Footnote: "Edward L. Bernays, 'Molding Public Opinion,' Annals, CLXXIX (May 1935), 85-87." p. 21.

McKean, Dayton David, "Party and Pressure Politics." Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949, 712pp.

In discussing the word 'propaganda,' the author states: "After World War I the word came to be applied to 'what you don't like of the other fellow's publicity,' as Edward L. Bernays said; but publicity is too narrow a term to include the variety of activities that are used to influence public opinion."

In discussing "The Use of Speaking by Pressure Groups," the author says: "Pressure groups, like parties, find speaking the least expensive device of propaganda. Edward L. Bernays has called attention to the lecture platform as a means of propaganda that public relations counsel may suggest to their

clients, and he has pointed to some of his own propaganda successes by using this device."

In this connection, pages 201-203 of Crystallizing Public Opinion are referred to.

MacDougall, Curtis D. A College Course in Reporting for Beginners. N. Y: The Macmillan Company, 1932. 536pp.

Linking "Ivy Lee and Edward S. Bernays, Jr., [sic] of New York," as "the most outstanding public relations officials in the country" recording their "boast that they never ask favors of editors and add that it is unnecessary for them to do so. They merely advise their clients how to act so that the press is forced to recognize them" a discussion of how to create news-worthy publicity, p. 77. Bibliographic references to ELB's books Crystallizing Public Opinion and Propaganda, p. 506.

. Hoaxes. N. Y: The Macmillan Company, 1940. 336pp.

Reference to "Light's Golden Jubilee" as the type of "publicity stunt" which "worked, and . . . can hardly be called a hoax," because of the true news in created events which "newspapers couldn't ignore", p. 249. Also: "So daydreamers go on hoping and expecting . . . while men like Edward Bernays . . . work silently behind the scenes." p. 261.

. Interpretative Reporting, N. Y: The Macmillan Company, 1938. 682pp.

Reference to "Edward L. Bernays of New York, nephew of the great Sigmund Freud" and "foremost living" public relations counsel. "Light's Golden Jubilee" is given as an outstanding example of publicity well-inspired. The book calls Bernays' "psychology . . . eminently sound," as "evidenced in

his two books, *Propaganda*, and *Crystallizing Public Opinion*," and quotes from the latter "part of his explanation and justification of himself and his calling." pp. 30, 31.

. *Newsroom Problems and Policies*. N. Y:

The Macmillan Company, 1941. 592pp.

Numerous references to and quotations from ELB's book *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, pp. 132, 134; reference to a public debate featuring him and Julian S. Mason before the New York Newspaper Women's Club in 1930, p. 241. Giving Bernays' definitions of the role of the public relations counsel, and of the difference between propaganda and education ; reference to "Light's Golden Jubilee" and the "creation of 'front' organizations" such as "the Sociological Fund by Bernays . . ." pp. 254, 258, 260.

MacLatchy, Josephine H. *Education on the Air*.

Columbus: Ohio State University, 1942. 310pp.

This 13th yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio, reports annual radio conference sponsored by Ohio State University. "Edward L. Bernays, counsel on public relations and author of *Speak Up for Democracy*, who was chairman and who had organized the panel," is recorded as presiding over the Panel Discussion on "Radio and Wartime Morale." His various opinions on the subject are noted, pp. 31-34. Among "... outstanding American ex-

perts in the field of radio and public opinion," ELB is also noted as participating in subsequent discussions, "Radio Discussion in Wartime A Program of the American Forum of the Air," and "Radio News Reports and Comments in Wartime"; his remarks or those of others about him, or his views are cited frequently, viz: pp. 36, 38-39, 42, 43, 44-45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 85-86.

MacNeil, Neil. *Without Fear or Favor*. N. Y: Har-

court, Brace and Company, 1940. 414pp.

"There are of course capable press agents who produce news by their intelligence and sense of news values. They make the event that makes the news, and the newspapers cover it with their own reporters, and gladly. Edward L. Bernays is such a one. His handling of the Light Golden Jubilee was masterly. Newspapers could not ignore it, for he brought

Thomas A. Edison, Henry Ford and many other notables to Dearborn, and had the President of the United States deliver the principal address. As part of his promotion he had the post office issue a special stamp. Even more ingenious perhaps were his national contests and exhibitions of sculptures done in Ivory Soap. These made good news stories. They had novelty and supplied good pictures, even if they did bring publicity to Procter and Gamble and help to stimulate soap sales. It was good showmanship." p. 311.

Mannheim, Karl. "Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction" London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1948. 469pp.

Bibliographical reference to "Berneys, E. Propaganda. New York, 1928-1936." Bernays' name misspelled, p. 421.

Martin, Everett Dean. The Meaning of a Liberal Education. N. Y: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1926. 319pp.

Without naming ELB, this book gives his well-known definition of the difference between education and propaganda. "A recent well-written book on the psychology of advertising by a gentleman who styles himself a 'Public Relations Counsel' explains the technique of making propaganda. The author refers to such propagandist efforts as education, and says that the difference between education and propaganda is this: when your side of the case is given publicity, that is education; when your opponent publishes his side, that is propaganda." p. 47.

Mencken, H. L. The American Language, Supplement I. N. Y: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. 739pp. "Public Relations Counsel was launched by Edward L. Bernays of New York, one of the most distinguished members of the fraternity. It had been preceded by Councillor in (or on) public relations, occasionally used by Ivy L. Lee (1878-1934), another eminent publicist." This is followed by a long memorandum "issued from the Bernays office" and giving "the history and true meaning of Public relations counsel." The term was invented by "Mr. Bernays and Doris E. Fleischman, a young woman working with him in his office at the time, whom he

later married and who is now his partner." pp. 578-579.

. The American Language, Supplement II.

N. Y: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. 890pp.

In two footnotes, Mencken lists ELB among those to whom he is indebted for information about words, pp. 718, 773.

Mills, Alden B. Hospital Public Relations. Chicago: Physicians' Record Company, 1939. 361pp.

Preface by ELB says this book "bridges the gap between existing knowledge of public relations and the need for that knowledge not only by hospitals but by other types of social service institutions as well," pp. vii-viii. The book contains a discussion of Bernays' use of group leaders in public relations campaigns, pp. 26-27. A discussion of the author expresses gratitude for this preface, p. 10. Bernays' theories of the leadership principle in public relations is discussed, p. 36. A long quotation on public relations methods from ELB's book *Propaganda*, pp. 36-37. Bibliographical reference to *Propaganda*, p. 55.

Mock, James R., and Larson, Gedric. Words That Won the War. The Story of the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1919. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939. 372pp.
 "The Wireless-Cable Service was directed by Walter S. Rogers, and the news was prepared by Paul Kennaday. As described in Chapter XV, Edward L. Bernays was placed in charge of news for Latin America," p. 239. "Latin America organization trips made by Lieutenant F. E. Ackerman in South America and S. P. Verner in Central America; Latin American news directed by Edward L. Bernays," (p. 245). "The two most important figures in the CPI invasion of Latin America were Lieutenant F. E. Ackerman and Edward L. Bernays," p. 321. "The other key man in the Latin American work was Bernays, who today is widely believed to have succeeded the late Ivy Lee as No. 1 public relations adviser to American businessmen. He came to the CPI in 1917 as a young . . . New Yorker who had served as press agent for the Russian Ballet, Enrico Caruso and other top-rank artists. His most impor

tant work with the Committee was the conception and execution of plans for enlisting the help of American business firms. Toward the end of the war he was also in charge of the whole Latin American news service, and following the Armistice he went to Paris with the CPI delegation," p. 322. "Creel applied for passports for the group he was sending to the Peace Conference, including Sisson, Byoir, Bernays, Charles Hart, Carl Walberg, Major H. E. Atterbury and E. H. Shuster," p. 332.

Mott, Frank Luther, and Casey, Ralph D., eds.

Interpretations of Journalism. N. Y: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1937. 533pp.

"Electric Light's Golden Jubilee" included among illustrations that "a cause can be 'litigated' for a client while the publicity expert remains entirely in the background." p. 406. Ivy Lee mentioned as

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"representative of the most skilled type of propagandist effort," and ELB among "others [who] have served corporations and business groups of almost equal prominence." p. 412.

Mott, George Fox, ed., and others. Survey of Journalism. N. Y: Barnes and Noble, 1940. 381pp.

Two bibliographical references. "Bernays, E. L., Crystallizing Public Opinion, 1924. An expert in publicity applies mass psychology to his job." And "Bernays, E. L., Propaganda, 1928. Further analysis of propaganda and publicity from the standpoint of the social psychologist." p. 364.

JY1 untz, Earl E. "Urban Sociology." N. Y: The Mac-

millan Company, 1938. 742pp.

Footnote reference: "Cf. Edward L. Bernays, 'Moulding Public Opinion,' Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (May, 1935), Vol. 179, p. 84." p. 584.

National Committee on Atomic Information.

How to Reach 37,000,000 Homes with the Basic Facts about Atomic Energy: A Progress Report. Washington, D. C: National Committee on Atomic Information, May 14, 1946. 24pp. Mention of "Edward L. Bernays' 'Take Your Place at the Peace Table,' Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York" as "a helpful manual."

Nerney, Mary Childs. Thomas A. Edison. N. Y: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, 1934. 334pp. "And although the latter (General Electric) did not use his (Thomas A. Edison's) name in their corporate title, they continued to use it in business and other ways, at times aggravating to its owner, as upon the occasion of Light's Golden Jubilee celebration . . . after B. F. [sic] Bernays was retained to handle the news of the mammoth party, the motive power between the tail and the dog would get short-circuited now and then, raising doubts as to which was which. The General Electric, as a result of this campaign, was said to have enormously increased its sales of lamps all over the world . . ." pp. 176-177.

Odegard, Peter. The American Public Mind. N. Y: Columbia University Press, 1930. 308pp. Bibliographical references to ELB's books *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, p. 280; and to *Propaganda*, p. 287.

Osborn, Alex. Your Creative Power. N. Y: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. 375pp.

ELB quoted, with the author in agreement, as asserting that progressive management has already demonstrated an attack on industrial relations problems, but that "additional ways and methods must be found." pp. 299, 300.

Osborne, Letitia Preston. *Through Purple Glass*. Phila. and N. Y: J. B. Lippincott, 1946. 288pp. A "gay comedy of manners," dedicated: "For Edward L. Bernays."

Ovington, Mary White. *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*. N. Y: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947. 307pp.

Reference to ELB's success in handling publicity for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's conference in Atlanta, Georgia. "Bernays' technique was to make friends of the reporters and do all their work." p. 178.

Paustian, Paul W., and Oppenheimer, J. John.

"Problems of Modern Society." N. Y. and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938. 571pp.

Footnote reference to "Bernays, E. L., 'Molding Public Opinion,' Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 179, pp. 84-85." pp. 299, 338.

Pfiftner, John M. Public Administration. N. Y:

The Ronald Press, 1946. 621pp.
Among "Selected Readings" for Chapter 35, "Administrative Public Relations": "Bernays, Edward L. 'Public Relations,' in Edward L. Bernays (ed.), Careers for Men. (Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1939)." p. 573.

Phelps, George Harrison. Tomorrow's Advertisers.

N. Y. and London: Harper and Brothers, 1929.

256pp.

"In his recent book, Propaganda, Edward L. Bernays makes this significant statement: 'Mass production is only profitable if its rhythm can be maintained that is, if it can continue to sell its product in steady or increasing quantity.' " The author comments, "In a sense that is what advertising is all about." p. 183.

Pigors, Paul. "Leadership or Domination." N. Y.

and Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935.

354pp.

Footnote reference to ELB's book, Propaganda, p. 253.

Poole, Ernest. The Bridge. N. Y: The Macmillan

Company, 1940. 422pp.

"Under the guidance of Edward Bernays, one of the ablest and most devoted younger workers on our staff [Committee on Public Information], from our articles they [exporters] printed inserts in their export journals and catalogues and in thousands of business letters sent to foreign lands each week." p. 335.

Porter, Philip W., and Luxon, Norval Neil. The

Reporter and the News. N. Y. and London: D.

Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1935. 560pp.

"Those who are seriously interested in publicity as a profession can find adequate material for study in the works of Edward L. Bernays, Ivy Lee and other leaders . . ." p. 499; ELB's books Crystallizing Public Opinion, and Propaganda, are listed in the Bibliography under "Assigned Readings." p. 505.

Pringle, Henry F. Big Frogs. N. Y: The Vanguard

Press, 1928. 276pp.

"Like so many other big New Yorkers, he (Bernarr MacFadden) has recently engaged a press agent. Having first considered engaging Ivy Lee, he later turned to Edward L. Bernays, only slightly less renowned in the public relations field. Mr. Bernays has already pulled one big stunt, that of persuading

the amiable Mayor Walker to receive his client at City Hall. This historic event was duly described in a full page in the Graphic while even the other New York dailies carried a paragraph or two about it. A similar feature printed at approximately the same time told of a dinner given the physical culturist by members of Parliament on the occasion of a visit to London." p. 132.

Quiett, Glenn C., and Casey, Ralph D. "Principles of Publicity." N. Y. and London: D. Appleton Company, Inc., 1926. 420pp.

Bibliographical references to ELB's books Crystallizing Public Opinion, p. 399, and Propaganda, p. 409.

Radvanyi, Laszlo, ed. "International Directory of Opinion and Attitude Research." Mexico: The Social Sciences Publishers, 1948. 292pp.

The entry on ELB says: "Professional Activities'. Lecturer, pub. opin., Univs. of Princeton, Columbia,

Harvard, Yale, Stanford; member, Pres. Hoover's Emergency Com. for Employment, 1930-31; New York State Com. on Discrimination in Employment, 1942; co-chmn., Victory Book Campaign, 1943; chmn. U. S. Treasury Natl. Publicity Advisory Com., Third War Loan; Natl. Publ. Relations Com., American Red Cross.

"Fields of Interest and Research: Pub. relations. Major Surveys or Research Projects Directed: Labor-management relations; race relations; internatl. aspects of pub. opinion.

"Author: Crystallizing Public Opinion, Liveright Pub. Corp., 1923; An Outline of Careers, Geo. H. Doran Co., 1927; Propaganda, Liveright Pub. Corp., 1928; Speak Up for Democracy, Viking Press, 1945; Monograph on Public Relations, Bellman Pub. Co., 1945 ; Article for Current Controversy on Need for a Secretary of Public Relations in Cabinet, 1935; Higher Education, a Public Relations Problem, Amer. College Publicity Assn., June 1935; Recent Trends in Public Relations Activities, Pub. Opin. Quart., Dec. 1936; Public Relations First in the Order of Business, Bus. Week, 1937; Public Education for Democracy, Amer. Mercury, 1938; War Against Words, Infantry Journal, 1940; Preview of American Public Opinion, Amer. Mercury Survey, 1944; Postwar Responsibility of the American Press, Journ. Quart., 1944." p. 23.

Raushenbush, Winifred. How to Dress in War time. N. Y.: Coward: McCann, Inc., 1942. 198pp. "Mr. Edward L. Bernays, the well-known public relations counselor, believes that during the second year of the war functional clothes will be stressed. He predicts that during 1944 the designers and the stores will be interested in dressing the new wartime elite represented by officers' wives, and that this trend will affect fashions generally. This prediction is very astute." pp. 155-156.

Ray, Marie Beynon. Two Lifetime in One. Indianapolis and N. Y.: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1938. 311pp.

This book about abundant energy closes with a final chapter, "Strong Men and Lovely Women," based

on interviews. ELB is described in this chapter as "a man who's continued to be increasingly successful all through the Depression." He is quoted as saying: "I will work very hard and at the end of the day I'd like to start another day at once. ... I don't think I've ever in my life been bored." p. 301.

Reed, Anna Y. *Guidance and Personnel Services in Education*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1944. 496pp.

"The first edition of *An Outline of Careers*, edited by Edward L. Bernays, is a good example of a collection of carefully prepared monographs for the use of mature students." p. 91.

Reck, W. Emerson. *Public Relations: A Program for Colleges and Universities*. N. Y. and London: Harper and Brothers, 1946. 286pp.

"Edward L. Bernays, one of the nation's leaders in the field," quoted on the "fundamental characteristics essential for the public relations counsel," p. 23, and on the importance of analysis before interpretation in the college field, pp. 41, 42.

Reuter, E. B., and Hart, C. W. *Introduction to Sociology*. N. Y. and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933. 548pp.

Bibliographical Reference: "Bernays, E. L. 'Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and the How,' *American Journal of Sociology*, 33. (1927-1928), 958-971." p. 435.

Richmond, Arthur, ed. *Modern Quotations for Ready Reference*. N. Y: Dover Publications, Inc., 1947. 507pp.

This book contains six quotations from the writings of ELB. Under Advertising: "Once a searching study of public attitudes has been made, and the program coordinated with these attitudes, many channels that reach the public will be found," p. 2; under Government: "For the capitalist system to be maintained, it is important that the public and the private interest be closely interrelated," p. 89; under Industry and Business: "Business must tell what its services to the public are, how its product is manufactured and distributed, the labor and the expense involved in manufacturing and servicing; it must make clear how prices are determined, and why a certain price is just," p. 107; under Propaganda:

"Propagandists have existed ever since Eve persuaded Adam to eat the first apple, and they will exist as long as one person attempts to convince another of anything." Also: "The conscientious propagandist and there are many such will have nothing to do with a product or a cause that is socially vicious." Also: "It is my belief that propaganda serves a useful purpose. It increases general knowledge. It tends to keep open an arena in public life in which the battle of truth may be fairly fought," p. 201. Also: "The difficulty propagandists have in pleading any cause is that they must deal in facts, not only as they are abstractly, but as they appear to be to individuals or groups who react emotionally," p. 201; under War: "In the next war, words will be as important as bullets." p. 280.

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Riegel, O. W. Mobilizing for Chaos. New Haven :

Yale University Press, 1934. 231pp.

"The field of national propaganda has attracted professional American publicity men. Edward L. Bernays looked after the public relations of Latvia . . ." p. 206. This is an error; it should be "Lithuania."

Riesman, David. A Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University. Cambridge: Graduate School of Public Administration, 1942. 275pp.

In the chapter "Civil Liberties in a Period of Transition," footnote reference to "Edward L. Bernays, Crystallizing Public Opinion (new ed., 1934), . . . and Propaganda (1928)." p. 82.

Ringel, Fred J., ed. "America as Americans See It." N. Y: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1932. 365pp.

This symposium, with chapters by Stuart Chase, Robert E. Sherwood, Clifton Fadiman, Bruce Bliven, Clare Booth and others, contains a section on "Women: Types and Movements," by Doris E. Fleischman, wife of ELB. Miss Fleischman is introduced by ELB, in a prefatory note, as follows:

"The census of the United States shows that 49% of the population are of the feminine sex. And yet women still seem to be the perennial novelty that they have always been. Their place and evaluation in the scheme of American things have been much neglected.

"And I know, for when I have tried to base a propaganda campaign directed to them on facts about them, it has been the very dickens of a search to find these facts.

"For facts, like truths, are usually hidden away and need digging. And after they have been dug up, they need interpretation and interpretation and interpretation.

"This, Miss Fleischman, over the last decade, has done, as have few other Americans men or women

both as a contributor to national magazines on the subject, as editor of a book, 'An Outline of Careers for Women,' and as a hard working counsel for public relations.

"I commend her not only as a wife and mother

but also as a writer and as an interpreter of American womanhood." p. 105.

Robinson, Thomas H., ed. and others. "Men, Groups and the Community: A Survey in the Social Sciences." N. Y: Harper & Brothers, 1940. 965pp.

Footnote reference to ELB's book Propaganda.

Rogers, Charles Elkins. Journalistic Vocations.

N. Y. and London: D. Appleton Co., Inc., 1931.

354pp.

"Ivy Lee and Edward L. Bernays, prominent in this field, have published books which undertake to explain and defend their occupation. . . . Mr. Bernays has been characterized as counsel of public relations to governments, industries, corporations, and trade organizations." Footnote reference to "Edward L. Bernays' Propaganda." p. 227.

Roosevelt, Eleanor. // You Ask Me. N. Y:

D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1946. 156pp.

Mrs. Roosevelt answers two questions proposed by ELB No, to whether or not she feels there should be a Secretary of Public Relations in the Cabinet, pp. 21, 22; Yes, on the need of a peacetime agency in the U. S. comparable to the OWL

Rorty, James. Our Master's Voice Advertising.

N. Y: The John Day Company, 1934. 394pp.

"The majority of successful propaganda practice, whether by commercial 'public relations counselors' like Edward Bernays or Ivy Lee or by radical propagandists, is overt; the name of the propagandist or the company or organization he represents is typed or printed at the top of his release." p. 171.

Ross, Ishbel. Ladies of the Press. N. Y. and London :

Harper and Brothers, 1946. 622pp.

". . . All these stories helped the status of the women reporters in New York. In 1915 the Tribune girls were brought downstairs to the city room. Women's news had now officially become part of the general schedule. Bessie Breuer was the last person to shepherd the flock as a separate body. One of her understudies was Doris E. Fleischman, who now functions as a public relations counsel with her husband, Edward L. Bernays. She was graduated from Barnard in 1913, worked for the Tribune for two years, and later became associated with Mr. Bernays. Soon after this women ceased to be a novelty in the city room of the Tribune . . ." p. 125.

Roucek, Joseph, ed. "20th Century Political

Thought." N. Y: Philosophical Library, 1946.

657pp.

Footnote reference: "E. L. Bernays, 'The Revolution in Publicity,' Saturday Review of Literature, XXIV (November 1, 1941), pp. 3ff." p. 379.

, and Associates. Social Control. N. Y:

D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1947. 584pp.

Footnote reference: "An earlier recognition of the contention of this section is E. L. Bernays' 'Manipulating Public Opinion,' American Journal of Sociology, XXXIII, (May, 1928), 958-971." p. 409.

Rugg, Harold. An Introduction to Problems of American Culture. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931. 616pp.

A quotation from Contact showing how five New York newspapers published five different versions of what happened when Alexander Kerensky was attacked in a New York theatre. Footnote reference: "From Contact No. 17, published by Edward L. Bernays, Public Relations Counsel, New York City." p. 5.

Routzahn, Evert G. and Routzahn, Mary Swain, See Addenda, Item 17.

Sargent, Porter. Dangerous Trends: How Under currents Economic and Political Affect Education. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1948. 190pp.

A second title page reads: "A Handbook of Private Schools for American Boys and Girls: An Annual Survey: Thirty-First Edition." A section is devoted to Public Relations. "The professional tone was given to the calling of publicity agent by E. L.

Bernays and his wife, Doris Fleischman, who invented the term 'public relations counsel' in their book Crystallizing Public Opinion, 1923. The public was no longer to be fooled or merely informed, it was to be understood. Bernays, an intellectual and a nephew of Sigmund Freud, recognized the need for psychological and sociological knowledge. (Goldman, pp. 13-19). "p. 170. There is a summary of the March 1947 issue of The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Under the heading "The Successful Leader," Sargent says: "The climax of the symposium in The Annals was left to E. L. Bernays, introduced in an editorial note as the leading exponent of the public relations profession. 'In that capacity he has served governments, trade associations, and profit and non-profit organizations.' He has the brains and techniques to bring the American people or any section of them to believe anything that the budget will permit. The polite way to put this is to speak of 'The Engineering of Consent,' which is his title," p. 173. This is followed by a summary of ELB's paper "The Engineering of Consent." pp. 173-174.

Getting Us into the War. Boston: Porter

Sargent, 1941. 640pp.

In chapter notes, the author says: "The most effective propaganda is that 'of the deed, not that of the word,' and 'when events do not serve their purpose they (propagandists) create them. Many of the news events about which we read are deliberately staged by the governments in the interests of propaganda,' E. L. Bernays, the highest paid propagandist ('public relations counsel') in this country, pointed out to the Guardian Midwinter Conference on 'Propaganda.' ('What Makes Lives,' p. 189)." p. 135.

War and Education. Boston: Porter

Sargent, 1943. 506pp.

"The 'Psychological Barriers in Health Education' which have long prevented the desired result that 'Everyone Should Receive Adequate Health Education' were exhaustively reported on by Edward L. Bernays, Public Relations Counsel, for the New York Academy of Medicine, at its Annual Health Education Conference in New York City, Nov. 18, 1941. (Vital Speeches, Jan 1, 1942.)" p. 309. A long quotation from this report by ELB in which he recommends that "a national council on public health should be formed by all health education groups for the exchange of ideas and methods, for orientation of aims, goals, themes and values," p. 310. Chapter footnote: "E. L. Bernays, the highest paid propagandist (public relations counsel) in this country, pointed out to the Harvard Guardian Midwinter Conference on Propaganda early in 1940 that the most effective propaganda is that 'of the deed, not that of the word,' and 'when events do not serve their purpose they (propagandists) create them. Many of the news events which we read are deliberately staged by the governments in the interest of propaganda.' " p. 359. A chapter footnote quotes at length from "The Revolution in Publicity," by ELB, Saturday Review, Nov. 1941. p. 425.

Sargent, S. Stansfeld. "Social Psychology: An Integrative Interpretation." N. Y: The Ronald Press Company, 1950. 519pp.

In this chapter on "Propaganda," the author says: "Many are the stories about our two most noted

public relations counsels, Ivy Lee and Edward L. Bernays. . . . Bernays showed even more ability (than Lee) in the art of mass persuasion. One of his early achievements was to make possible the production of Brioux's *Damaged Goods*, a play about syphilis, by organizing a number of prominent persons into a 'Sociological Fund' which backed the production and gave it an aura of respectability. Later, he showed his inventiveness by publicizing the products of Procter & Gamble (Ivory Soap) in a national soap sculpture contest, and by organizing the Golden Jubilee of electric light on behalf of General Electric and Westinghouse. Bernays helped to explain and interpret the newer trends in publicity work, and in his book *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, published in 1923, he coined the term 'public relations counsel.' " p. 360. Savidge, Anne Lane, and Horn, Gunnar. "Handbook for High School Journalism." Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1944. 133pp. Bibliographical references to ELB's books *Crystallizing Public Opinion* and *Propaganda*, p. 63. Seldes, George. *Freedom of the Press*. Garden City: Garden City Publishing Company, 1937. 380pp. "The late Mr. [Ivy] Lee's leading competitors are Edward L. Bernays, who is credited with getting an Edison electric light bulb on a postage stamp, and . . ." p. 136.

Lords of the Press. N. Y: Julian Messner, Inc., 1938. 408pp.

A quotation from Dr. T. V. Smith, "professor of philosophy of the University of Chicago, practical politician . . . and author of many books," defining "plutogogue." According to Smith, "plutogogue is the voice of the wealthy when they can no longer speak for themselves. . . . He is not Allah, but Allah's public relations counsel. You will hear his soft-spoken message in the columns of our sophisticated Walter Lippmanns and our unctuous Glenn Franks. You will see or gently feel his gloved hand in the eulogistic releases of our late Ivy Lees and our ever-present Edward Bernays," p. 304. "The plutogogue of plutogogues is Edward L. Bernays who usually hires himself for the better causes, the democratic nations. But he is also the best defender of our business civilization." p. 312-313. Seldes, Gilbert. *Proclaim Liberty*. N. Y: The Grey-stone Press, 1942. 202pp.

"Propaganda must be independent. . . . Mr. Gorham

Munson, preceded by Mr. Edward L. Bernays in 1928, has proposed a Secretary for Propaganda in the Cabinet, which would make the direct line of authority from the Executive to the administrators of policy, without interference." p. 65.

Smith, Bruce Lannes; Las well, Harold D; and Casey, Ralph D., eds. Propaganda, Communication and Public Opinion. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1946. 435pp.

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The long annotated bibliography lists the following works by Edward L. Bernays: Crystallizing Public Opinion: "A U. S. public relations counsel's early formulation of the techniques of his calling, with some attention to its social consequences," p. 129; "Recent Trends in Public Relations Activities (of large corporations and trade associations)" Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. I, No. I: 147-51, January 1937: "by a U. S. public relations counsel," p. 193; Speak Up for Democracy: What You Can Do A Practical Plan for Action for Every American Citizen: N. Y., Viking Press, 1940: "Noted public relations counsel urges all U. S. citizens to 'speak up for democracy' through every available channel of communication. He outlines 'twenty common charges against democracy' and answers them. He maps out a complete public relations program, utilizing the 'group leadership approach' and a multitude of channels such as holiday celebrations, press conferences, direct mail, forums, radio, movies, youth groups. Symbols involved include celebrated American documents (emphasis on the Bill of Rights), patriotic ceremonies, birthdays of famous Americans, and lists of appeals to special interest groups. Includes extensive bibliography on democratic practice, dictatorships, U. S. customs, leadership techniques and public opinion," p. 227. Bibliographical reference to a booklet by ELB and Doris E. Fleischman: Universities: Pathfinders in Public Opinion: The Authors, 1937. "Lists 'Courses in Public Relations, Public Opinion, and Related Subjects Offered by American Universities.'" p. 297. Bibliographical reference to ELB in connection with Public Policy, Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University, 1942, Vol. 3: "Edward L. Bernays . . . presents a hortative discourse on 'The

Integration of Morale'." p. 150.

Smith, Charles W. t jr. Public Opinion in a Democracy. N. Y: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. 598pp.
"E. L. Bernays describes public opinion as 'an ill-defined . . . and changeable group of individual judgments,' the 'aggregate result of individual opinions' of the people who make up a society," p. 16. Footnote reference to ELB's book Crystallizing Public Opinion, p. 16. "In 1938, when public and congressional criticism of radio reached a point where it seemed likely to lead to governmental investigation and perhaps to new tax or regulatory measures, the National Broadcasting Company hired Edward L. Bernays, one of the ablest publicity men in the country, as public relations consultant." p. 116. Bibliographical references to ELB's books Crystallizing Public Opinion, p. 567 and Propaganda, p. 569.

Sobel, Bernard, ed. The Theatre Handbook. N. Y:

Crown Publishers, 1940. 900pp.

"At the time of the Great War, with the development of modern business methods, press agency attained dignity and became one of the first national forces. But the term was straightway changed; leaders like Edward Bernays and Ivy Lee calling themselves publicity directors, propagandists and counsellors in public relations." p. 632.

Starch, Daniel; Stanton, Hazel M; Roerth, Wilhelmina. Controlling Human Behavior. N. Y: The Macmillan Company, 1937. 638pp.
Under the title, "What is Propaganda?", among comments by Walter Lippmann, Calvin Coolidge and Frederick E. Lumley on "good and bad propaganda," a formal definition by "E. L. Bernays, the publicist" is presented: "Modern propaganda is a consistent, enduring policy of creating or shaping events to influence the relations of the public to a given enterprise." p. 559.

Stewart, Donald Ogden, ed. Fighting Words. N. Y:

Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940. 168pp.

On the half-title, from a speech by ELB: "In the next war, words will be as important as bullets."

Stout, Rex. The Silent Speaker. N. Y: The Viking

Press, 1946. 308pp.

In a Nero Wolfe novel, an incident provokes the comment, ". . . Who you want is not Nero Wolfe, but Russell Birdwell or Eddie Bernays . . ." p. 82.

Strong, Edward K., Jr. "Psychological Aspects of Business." N. Y. and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938. 629pp.

Footnote reference: "Flynn, J. T., 'Edward L. Bernays,' Atlantic Monthly, 193,2, Vol. 149, 567-568." p. 271.

Summers, Robert E., ed. Federal Information Controls in Peacetime. The Reference Shelf, Vol. 20, No. 6. N. Y: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1949. 301pp.

Inaccurate bibliographical reference: "Bernays, Edward L. Safeguarding Civil Liberties Today." Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1945, referring to the Edward L. Bernays Lectures published under this title, p. 291.

Sutherland, Robert L., and Woodward, Julian L.

Introductory Sociology. Philadelphia, N. Y:

J. B. Lippincott, 1940. 863pp.

Footnote: "The studies of Harwood L. Childs, L. W. Doob, E. L. Bernays, B. L. Pierce, R. Ponsonby, and J. D. Squires, all add further information to show that accurate evidence on controversial issues is seldom available to a public." p. 340.

Tebbel, John. An American Dynasty. Garden City:

Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1947. 363pp.

Quotation from a speech delivered by "Edward L. Bernays, the public relations counsel" before the National Newspaper Promotion Association in 1944, and reprinted in the Journalism Quarterly, pointing out the "great gap between the platform of the newspapers and public acceptance of them" and advocating remedial public relations techniques; the "overwhelming response" to the printed version is noted, including that of those few "who scoffed at the whole business." p. 337.

Thompson, Dorothy. / Saw Hitler. N. Y: Farrar

and Rinehart, 1932. 36pp.

". . . But if you want to gauge the strength of the Hitler movement, imagine that in America, an orator with the tongue of the late Mr. Bryan and the his-

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trionic powers of Aimee MacPherson, combined with the publicity gifts of Edward Bernays and Ivy Lee should manage . . ." pp. 34-35.

Thurber, James. *The Thurber Carnival*. N. Y: Harper & Brothers, 1945. 305pp.

This anthology of Thurber's writings contains the story *Something to Say*, which first appeared in *The Middle-Aged Man on the Flying Trapeze*. The story includes the following passage: "Somehow or other we kept him out of trouble until the night of the sailing, when we gave a going-away party for him at Marvin Deane's house. Everybody was there: Gene Tunney, Sir Hubert Wilkins, Count von Luckner, Edward Bernays, and the literary and artistic crowd generally." p. 95.

Vaughan, Wayland F. *Social Psychology*. N. Y: The Odyssey Press, 1948. 956pp.

A discussion, with examples from his handling of specific projects, of the work of ELB, who "conceives of his profession as 'the conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses'." "Through his expert control over the 'mass mind,' the public relations counselor is said to function as 'the invisible government,' and ELB is said to act 'as an adviser to his client.' . . . Unlike Reichenbach, who did not want to see the article he was to publicize for fear he would be disillusioned, Bernays insists on knowing what it is he is pushing and he will not commit himself to its promotion until he is convinced of its value. He will not feature a product he believes to be fraudulent or a cause he believes to be antisocial. Bernays says that the chief assets of the public relations counsel are honesty and candor. Maybe so, but Bernays' crowning achievement, the handling of Light's Golden Jubi

lee, the fiftieth anniversary of Edison's discovery of the electric light, was put over in a very subtle fashion . . ." This is followed by quotations from articles by "W. W. Parrish, in the Literary Digest, June 2, 1934"; by "J. T. Flynn: 'Edward L. Bernays. 1 The Atlantic Monthly, May, 1932'; and by "J. R. Dill: 'Unhappy Days for the Brewer.' Christian Century, June 30, 1937." pp. 374-78.

Viereck, George Sylvester. Spreading Germs of

Hate. N. Y: Horace Liveright, 1930. 327pp.

In this work, with a foreword by Colonel Edward M. House, ELB is referred to as "a distinguished expert on propaganda"; his definition as to the difference between propaganda and education is given, p. 10.

Walker, S. H., and Sklar, Paul. Business Finds Its Voice: Management's Effort to Sell the Business Idea to the Public. N. Y. and London: Harper and Brothers, 1938. 93pp.

"They (the National Electric Light Association) could study the work of public relations counsels like Ivy Lee and Edward L. Bernays, recalling that it was Lee, more than anybody else, who had transformed John D. Rockefeller in the public mind from a symbol of greed to a symbol of aged benevolence, and that Bernays and his colleagues had invented many ingenious ways of publicizing men,

products and corporations (as for instance when Bernays staged a 'Green Ball' to popularize the color green, in the expectation of creating a demand for Lucky Strikes)," p. 14; "Of the independent counsel, the best-known are perhaps Edward L. Bernays, Carl Byoir, Bernard Lichtenberg and T. J. Ross of the famous firm of Ivy Lee and T. J. Ross. These firms advise more than one client . . . and they draw considerable fees. For instance, according to reports filed with the S.E.C. . . . Allied Chemical & Dye paid Bernays \$25,185; and the American Tobacco Company paid Lee and Ross \$23,096 and Bernays \$24,000 ... p. 26. "Bernays, like the others, knows that it is better to implant an idea in a group leader's mind and let him spread it than to write up an idea and send it to the papers as a release, in the old-fashioned way; because what an independent big-wig says is news. He has developed the technique further than anybody else. Here, for

example, is a recent example of his shrewd use of group leaders. In 1934, Philco, a client of Bernays' at the time, was developing for its radios what it called 'high fidelity reception.' No public announcement was made. Instead, Bernays had letters sent to a list of well-known music critics asking what they thought of radio reception. Then he persuaded Pitts Sanborn to edit and issue under his own name a 'symposium' of opinions on radio reception wherein the answers to Bernays' letters appeared, making the point that reception was generally bad. Names make news; the 'symposium' got a great deal of reception in the press. When it had been well publicized Philco was ready to announce 'high fidelity reception,' and to hold an exhibit celebrating it as the answer to the currently poor reception. At the same time, still under Bernays' supervision, Philco set up an organization called the Radio Institute of the Audible Arts, which Pitts Sanborn was persuaded to head. The Institute began to issue booklets and surveys on good reception, children's programs, etc; these were sent to schools, clubs and the like, where they were well received because each one was written by an authority. Philco's name appeared only briefly as the founder of the Institute. Thus Philco and 'quality radio' associated themselves firmly in the public mind." p. 26-27.

Walker, Stanley. City Editor. N. Y: Frederick A.

Stokes Co., 1934. 336pp.

"Press agents, in their multifarious wigs and masks, sometimes seem almost as necessary to the modern newspaper as a posse of reporters. . . . Members of this strange profession range from the frightened, somewhat ratty Broadway hanger-on, who hopes to pick up a few dollars for whistling up any fly-by-night enterprise, to such elegant and philosophical practitioners as Ivy Lee and Edward L. Bernays, who represent large interests and movements directed at what is known as the Mass Mind, and who have brains," p. 134. "Many newspapermen, viewing the careers of such men as Bernays, Lee, Hanne-gan and many others, are inclined to be envious," p. 138. "If the young publicist attaches himself to

the right interests, and studies the methods not only of Bernays and Lee but of lesser masters as well, he may go far," p. 143. "It has been the custom to hold up Ivy Lee as the greatest example of what a newspaperman may do when he enters upon publicity work . . . but it is probable that Bernays is the more important as an American phenomenon. He is more of a psychologist, or psychoanalyst, than Lee. That Daniel Boone of the canebrakes of the libido, Dr. Sigmund Freud, is his uncle. Bernays has taken the sideshow barker and given him a philosophy and a new and awesome language: 'conditioned reflexes,' 'the creation of events and circumstances,' 'dramatic high-spotting,' and 'continuous interpretations.' He is no primitive drum beater. He has written books and lectured at New York University on the methods and underlying psychological principles of his high art. He is devoid of swank and does not visit newspaper offices, ..."

p. 143. "The record of Mr. Bernays is full of examples of showmanship which could not be ignored by the newspapers. There was, for example, Light's Golden Jubilee. The story of Edison's invention was retold. To Dearborn went Edison, Henry Ford and even the President of the United States, as well as a great crowd of other important figures. It was not Mr. Ford's show, or Edison's, or even the President's. It was simply a publicity stunt pulled off by Bernays, representing powerful and rich interests, to exploit the uses of electric light. Newspaper editors who understood this may have felt sad, but what could they do about it with the President making a speech and all those important persons there?", p. 144. "Again, Mr. Bernays was employed by Procter and Gamble, makers of Ivory Soap. He popularized the nation-wide contests for the best examples of soap sculpture. It is really startling what anyone with a bent for sculpture can do with a little soap. For the first few years he gained enormous publicity, and then the publishers asked abruptly, 'What the hell?' and now the publicity is much less," pp. 144-145. "Bernays must receive credit, or blame, for an important shift in the methods used by the larger advertising agencies. ... A few years ago advertising agencies devoted their attention to straight advertising. . . . Now they have added research workers (which may be a good thing) and great numbers of thinkers, behaviorists, trend-observers, experts with chart and graph, child trainers, students of sleep and what not," pp. 145-146. "The Great Man racket, which consists of the inflation and label

ling of enormous stuffed shirts, is always with us. . . . Bernays defends it on its higher levels on the ground that the public is entitled to know the sort of man, his background and personality, who is the brains of an industry which furnishes the public with its goods," p. 150. "It would do no harm for newspapers to point out that a light jubilee is a Bernays project," p. 151.

Wallis, Wilson D., and Wallis, Grace Allen. "Our Social World." N. Y. and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1940. 402pp.

ELB's book Propaganda listed among "Readings." p. 148.

, and Willey, Malcolm M. "Readings in

Sociology." N. Y: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1930. 639pp.

ELB's book Crystallizing Public Opinion listed

among "Readings." p. 365.

Washburn, Charles. Press Agency. N. Y: National Library Press, 1937. 153pp.

Chapter VIII, "Molding the Mass Mind ; Edward L. Bernays," is devoted entirely to ELB. One section deals with the inevitable rise of the public relations counsel, pp. 92-95. A brief biographical sketch of ELB, "Bernays is definitely a counsel on public relations, molding the mass mind. He is as good as they come," p. 95. Reference to Light's Golden Jubilee, p. 95.

"Today, at the height of his powers, he serves as adviser to great corporations and to individuals of both national and world eminence in the dual task of interpreting the public to them, and them to the public," p. 95. History, analysis and summary of article by ELB, "How to Restore Confidence in Business and Finance," Economic Forum, Winter Issue, 1935. Main ideas: Business must sell the whole idea of business to the public; business must continuously and cumulatively explain its function to the public; the value of symbols must be stressed; the public must be pleased, not damned; leadership today rests on an ability to understand, interpret and utilize symbols; symbols are the short cut to understanding and action; it is not a problem today of getting pieces into the papers; it

is a question of selling an idea that business and finance are essential parts of our system, pp. 96-98. "There you have some pretty sane stuff," the author comments, p. 98. Extensive quotations from "Presenting American Business," by ELB, Today, March 28, 1936: "Bernays sums it all up beautifully and in plain language. He is quite right when he declares that 'present-day business sails little-known waters studded with the bars and shoals of adverse public opinion.' It is small wonder, then, that the captains of industry need advice from a pilot the public relations counsel," p. 104. "Bernays has further contributed to the study of public opinion in an article, 'Molding Public Opinion,' which should be read by every man desirous of following a career that will shape the destinies of men and their movements. He says: 'Once a searching study of public attitudes has been made, many channels that reach the public will be found.' "

Who Knows and What Among Authorities
Experts and the Specially Informed.

Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Company. 1949,

796pp.

Entry 716-24 says: "Bernays, Edward L. Public relations and opinion; Propaganda, b '91. BS '12 (Cornell U.). Author: Crystallizing Public Opinion '24, and others. Served with US Com on Public Information at Peace Conf '18-19; asst commr US Dept Commerce Paris Expn '25; counsel on pub relations in partnership with Doris E. Fleischman

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since '10; U lecturer on pub relations. Nat Pub Relations Com. Bernays Building, 26 E. 64th St., NYC." p. 716.

Who's Who in America. Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Company, Vol. 25, Fiftieth Anniversary Edition, 1950-1951. 3347pp.

Biographical sketch: "Bernays, Edward L. (ber-naz), public relations counsel; b. Vienna, Austria, Nov. 22, 1891; s. Ely and Anna (Freud) B; Prep. edn. De Witt Clinton High Sch., New York; B.S., Cornell

U., 1912; m. Doris E. Fleischman, Sept. 16, 1922; children Doris Fleischman, Anne Fleischman. Wrote for newspapers, N. Y. City, 1913-15; publicity mgr. Russian Ballet tour in U. S. for Met. Opera Co., 1915-16, of Caruso and other musical stars, 1917-18; served with U. S. Comm. on Public Information; at Peace Conference, Paris, 1918-19; re-employ ex-service men, U. S. War Dept., 1919; asst. commr. U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Paris Expn., 1925; counsel on public relations to Light's Golden Jubilee, 1929; counsel on public relations in partnership with Doris E. Fleischman to government, industries, corps., and trade orgns. since 1919; lecturer on pub. relations, New York U., 1923; adjunct prof pub. relations, N. Y. Univ. 1949. Dir. Merritt, Chapman & Scott Mem. President Hoover's Emergency Com. for Employment, 1930-31. Mem. N. Y. State Com. on Discrimination in Employment, 1942; mem. Nat. Pub. Relations Com., Am. Red Cross, since 1942; co-chairman Victory Book Campaign, 1943; chmn. U. S. Treasury nat. publicity adv. com. 3d War Loan. Awarded Office Pub. Instrn. (French), 1926, King Christian Medal (Danish), 1946. Clubs: Century Country, Harmonic (New York). Author: Crystallizing Public Opinion, 1924; (with others) Broadway Anthology, 1917; Propaganda, 1928; Speak Up for Democracy, 1940; Take Your Place at the Peace Table, 1945; Public Relations, a Growing Profession, 1945; Editor of An Outline of Careers, 1927; also contbr. to same. . . . Office: Bernays Building, 26 E. 64th Street, New York 21, N. Y." p. 211.

ELB has been in every edition of Who's Who in America since 1926-1927.

Who's Who in Commerce and Industry. Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Company, Vol. 6, 6th International Edition, 1948. 1552pp.

Biographical sketch of "Bernays, Edward L., public relations counsel . . ." p. 156.

Who's Who in the East. Chicago: The A. N.

Marquis Company. Vol. II, 1948. 1824pp. Biographical sketch: "Bernays, Edward L., public relations counsel . . ." p. 156.

Who's Who in New York [City and State]. N. Y.: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1947.

llth Edition. 1235pp.

Biographical sketch: "Bernays, Edward L.: Public

Relations Counsel; . . ." p. 81.

Wilkerson, Marcus M. "Public Opinion and the Spanish- American War." Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1932. 141pp.

Bibliographical references to ELB's books Crystallizing Public Opinion and Propaganda, p. 133.

Willey, Malcolm M., and Rice, Stuart A. Communication Agencies and Social Life. N. Y. and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933. 229pp.

In this monograph, one of a series published under the direction of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, acknowledgments are given in the preface to "Edward L. Bernays, Public Relations Counsel," among those in a long list, p. xii. '

Wilson, Francis Graham. "The Elements of Modern Politics: An Introduction to Political Science." N. Y: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936. 716pp.

Bibliographical reference under "Selected Readings" to ELB's book Crystallizing Public Opinion.

"The American Political Mind" N. Y:

McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949. 506pp. In the chapter "The Republic and World Crisis," the author says: "With the emergence of superior forms of public administration, the continued development of education, the production of goods for an abundant life, the growth of democracy in industry, and a greater reconciliation between liberty and equality, the future must belong to the democratic way of life." A footnote to this refers to ELB's book Speak Up for Democracy as a sample of "literature dealing with this problem."

Wolseley, R. E. The Journalist's Bookshelf: An Annotated and Selected Bibliography of United States Journalism. Chicago: Quill and Scroll Foundation, 1946, 133pp.

In the section "Propaganda," a bibliographical reference to ELB's book Propaganda.

In the section "Public Opinion," a bibliographical reference to ELB's book Crystallizing Public Opinion.

and Campbell, Laurence R. Exploring

Journalism. N. Y: Prentice-Hall, 1946. 482pp.

"Modern public-relations counsel, however . . . shun the crude and obvious methods of early press agents. They prefer to engineer an event like . . . Light's Golden Jubilee, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Thomas A. Edison's invention of the incandescent lamp. Publicity specialists realize that in the long run it doesn't pay to fool the public. They have discovered that they can serve society, as Edward L. Bernays declares, by 'crystallizing the obscure tendencies of the public mind before they have reached definite expression which makes them so valuable' ." p. 424.

Woodward, W. E. "The Gift of Life." N. Y: E. P.

Dutton and Company, Inc., 1947. 436pp.

In this autobiography, the author records that he lunched "at the Coffee Club with Hendrik Van Loon" and met, among other well-known people, "Edward Bernays, the publicity man ... a nephew of Sigmund Freud, the most distinguished of psychoanalysts." pp. 289, 290.

Woolf, S. J. Here Am I. N. Y: Random House,

1941. 374pp.

"Most publicity men are incurable some of them are more or less dreamers like Carl Byoir; others, like Edward Bernays, engage the largest suite in the biggest hotel to give parties for a few of their intimate friends," p. 228. "When I arrived in Vienna, I tried to get in touch with Dr. Sigmund Freud. Through friends of his, I made efforts to meet him, but was unsuccessful. I even cabled Edith to go see Eddie Bernays, who is the doctor's nephew, and Bernays in turn cabled him. But even this was to no avail." p. 253.

Wright, J. Ilandly, and Christian, Byron H.

Public Relations in Management. N. Y: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949. 229pp.

The magazine Fortune quoted: "... when Beech-Nut Packing Company, through Edward L. Bernays, got doctors to come out for big breakfasts, knowing that the result would be more bacon sold ... when society leaders, also through Bernays, came out with statements that a woman should take at least three dresses on the most informal weekend, and the luggage industry, as per plan, began to sell more bags ... when President Hoover, Thomas Edison and Henry Ford, again under Bernays' guidance, gathered at Dearborn to celebrate Light's Golden Jubilee, and the first lamp appeared on a commemorative postage stamp ..." p. 5. "In his book 'Propaganda,' published in 1928, Edward L. Bernays, public relations counsel, began with this statement: 'The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government that is the true ruling power of our country.' In view of Mr. Bernays' reputation as the founder of the science of modern public relations, the reader may be forced to assume that such 'conscious and intelligent manipulation' of the mass mind is the chief mission of the practitioner. However, Mr. Bernays later offers in his book a much more agreeable concept when he states: 'The counsel on public relations, after he has examined all these and other factors, endeavors to shape the actions of his client so that they will gain the interest, the approval and the acceptance of the public ...' p. 30. "Edward L. Bernays divides the history of publicity into four major periods. The first, 1900 to 1914, was the period of muckraking versus whitewashing. ... The second major period was during the First World War, 1914 to 1918, when publicity was used for the first time on a mass scale to sell war aims and ideals. The third major period, 1919 to 1929, was marked by an era of rising price levels, new competition for the consumer's dollar, and a new appreciation of the consumer's interests. ... Corporations appointed vice-presidents whose prime duties were to make friends for the company and to interest themselves in public affairs. The fourth period began in 1929. The stock-market crash, the advent of the New Deal, the awakening realiza

tion that the interests of the whole nation were greater than those of any group, all served to emphasize, according to Mr. Bernays, the need for social consciousness and public responsibility. To continue Mr. Bernays' analysis, written in 1941, it might be said that the fifth period was marked by a return to the First World War methods of selling the public on war issues, but on a much larger pattern . . ." pp. 38, 39. "A vigorous criticism of public opinion polls was registered recently by Edward L. Bernays, public relations counsel. In an article in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Mr. Bernays said: 'Like vitamins and so many other good things, attitude polls have been adopted by America with its customary unthinking enthusiasm for new things. Polls are an enormously useful implement when honestly, efficiently and intelligently gathered and understood. On the other hand, they are potentially dangerous weapons in the hands of the unwise, the inept, the dishonest or the antisocial.' Mr. Bernays proposed as a solution that licenses should be required for the practice of polling, and, secondly, that educational activities, aimed at the public and their leaders, should be carried on to acquaint them with the significance of polls," p. 70. "It is probable that for some time public relations counsel and workers in the field must set their own standards of conduct. However, in fairness to his calling counsel should not accept a client whose standards do not measure up to his own, in the opinion of Edward L. Bernays, who writes: 'In law the judges and jury hold the deciding balance of power. In public opinion the public relations counsel is judge and jury because through his pleading of a case the public is likely to accede to his opinion and judgment. Therefore, the public relations counsel must maintain an intense scrutiny of his actions, avoiding the propagation of unsocial or otherwise harmful movements or ideas. It is in the creating of public conscience that the counsel on public relations is destined to fulfill his highest usefulness to the society in which he lives.' " p. 221.

Wright, Milton. *How to Get Publicity*. N. Y. and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935. 226pp.

"The closest approach to a professional status is that reached by those publicity men who, individually or in partnership, maintain organizations where they serve numbers of clients in much the same way as a lawyer serves his clientele on the basis of an annual retaining fee. It is through this method that some

of the outstanding figures in publicity men like Ivy Lee, Edward L. Bernays and John Price Jones have accomplished their results." pp. 210-211.

, Public Relations for Business. N. Y: Whiteley House, 1939. 346pp.

"Along these lines, Edward L. Bernays, a leading specialist in public relations, says: 'A public relations program or policy must be integrated into the entire functioning of the industry. It cannot be lip worship to an idea. It cannot consist merely of releases from a mimeograph machine. It must be part and parcel of the thinking and action of the leaders in the

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industry. And it may mean that such thinking and action must be decidedly changed in order to conform to public demand and public objectives. Ideas that are not generally accepted by the public can be made acceptable only if they can be shown to be of value to the public, and if their appeal can be related to acceptable fact, opinions or customs'." pp. 48, 49.

Young, John Orr. "Adventures in Advertising."

N. Y: Harper & Brothers, [1948, by Printers' Ink Publishing Company, Inc.], 1949, pp. 207.

In a list of books on public relations, the author states: "Edward L. Bernays and his wife Doris Fleischman produced those interesting books Careers for Men and Careers for Women." p. 103.

Young, Kimball. "Source Book for Social Psychology" N. Y: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. 844pp.

"And Bernays illustrates from the case of Lithuania what can be done to arouse and to influence public opinion on a situation through the clever use of publicity and propaganda," p. 783. Under "Propaganda," large sections of Lithuania's publicity campaign are reprinted.

"Social Psychology" N. Y: F. S. Crofts

and Company, 1947. 578pp.

ELB's book Propaganda is included among "suggestions for further reading." p. 522.

Zink, Harold. "Government and Politics in the

United States." N. Y: The Macmillan Company, 1946. 1006pp.

Footnote reference to "Edward L. Bernays, Propaganda, Liveright Publishing Corporation, New York, 1928." p. 225. Selected Bibliography for Chapter 13, "The Role of Public Opinion," includes "Bernays, Edward L., Propaganda, Liveright Publishing Company, New York, 1928." p. 238.

Profiles of EDWARD L. BERNAYS

American Mercury. "Mass Psychologist." Vol.

XIX, No. 74, Feb 1930. pp. 155-163.

Profile of about 5,000 words relating highlights in the life and career of ELB. Henry F. Pringle, the author, begins, "It is significant that Edward L. Bernays, who has reduced the once jovial occupation of press agent to a science, who is frater in facultate at New York University, and now labors 'in the spirit of the laboratory,' is a nephew of the renowned Dr. Sigmund Freud. . . . Eddie knows a very great deal about psychology and cashes in on that knowledge. . . . Only poets delude themselves with the notion that love, that is to say sex, causes the world to revolve. Mr. Bernays, whose rank as public relations counsel is at least the equal of Ivy Ledbetter Lee's, knows that it is really money that furnishes the motive power. The mass psychologist, moreover, goes much further than the psychoanalyst who . . . can do no more than explain what has already taken place. Eddie can foretell the future . . . [with] no claims to crystal gazing. . . . His science, once

understood, is really very simple. What he does is to create a demand by molding the public mind. He creates a desire for specified goods or ideas. The first task of the public relations counsel, however, is to see whether his client offers something which the public 'can be brought to accept.' It is sometimes wiser to refuse a fee. . . . [but] It is not often that mass psychology fails to find a solution. . . ."

Quoting ELB's work, Propaganda, and using many illustrations of his activities as described in that book and other writings "... Only recently, Dr. Bernays won the undying gratitude of the luggage manufacturers. . . . Similarly with bacon. . . . Mr. Bernays . . . once guided the sales psychology of

the Beechnut Packing Company. . . . October 28 became the Czecho-Slovakian Fourth of July . . . all because Eddie Bernays so decreed. . . . Richard Bennett . . . was attempting to produce Brieux's celebrated play, 'Damaged Goods' . . . [also] the fight of the Dietetic and Hygienic Gazette and the Medical Review of Reviews [edited by ELB]. . . . Soon the Sociological Fund had endorsements galore and also some cash. . . . On a historic night in 1913, 'Damaged Goods' opened. . . . His [ELB's] campaign for the production . . . was based on the soundest principles of mass psychology. Eddie used them knowingly . . . when the War Department employed him after the war. . . . The assistance of such organizations as the Fifth Avenue Association was enlisted. . . . By means of [the formula] Eddie Bernays has increased the use of Ivory Soap . . . has persuaded women to swathe themselves in velvets (Sidney Blumenthal Velvets) . . . [has counseled successfully] American Tobacco Company . . . Ward Baking Company . . . Cheney Silks . . . the Queensborough Corporation . . . Venida Hair Net Company . . . Procter & Gamble company [also for Crisco, as well as in organizing the National Small Sculptural Committee . . . giving \$1,675 in prizes annually for the best sculpture executed in Ivory Soap . . . with such famous artists as Gutzon Borglum, Lorado Taft, Harvey Wiley Corbett and Charles Dana Gibson ... on the jury of award. ...]... Until 1929, [when] Eddie Bernays could hardly compete in professional standing with Ivy Lee. He had handled large accounts. His work had been, on the whole, satisfactory to his clients. . . . But Ivy . . . had the Rockefellers. . . . Then the Pioneer Associates . . . decided to stage a celebration to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the invention of the electric light. Henry Ford . . . also . . . Christened Light's Golden Jubilee . . . President Hoover, with his whole entourage, paid tribute. . . . Ambassador Dawes, Charlie Schwab, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Will Hays, Pat Crowley ... in brief, many men who were typical Ivy Lee clients . . . did what Eddie Bernays told them to do ... [but] ... He modestly denies that he caused the [Mazda] lamp to be engraved on the nation's postage stamps. . . . Eddie Bernays shakes his head. . . . Mass psychology might have had something to do with it. Beyond that: 'Postmaster-General Brown, I should say, was responsible for the

stamps.' " the article also gives autobiographical data on ELB as a member of the Bernays-Freud family, until the onset of his professional career.

Atlantic Monthly. "Edward L. Bernays, The Science of Ballyhoo," Vol. 149, No. 5, May 1932, pp. 562-571.

John T. Flynn says: "By no system of honest elimination can Edward L. Bernays be excluded from a list of representative men in America. He has made an extraordinary success. He has been something of a pioneer. . . . He numbers among his clients powerful millionaires, great corporations, even royal personages and governments. He has made a great deal of money a mark of importance that no American will deny and what is more, he has done it in the field of intellectual activity. . . . He is a social psychologist engaged in carrying out in actual practice and according to newer theories that branch of psychology which August Comte and later Herbert Spencer, recognized as having a definite relation to sociology."

"As a matter of fact, Bernays has both a clear and a very shrewd understanding of his profession. As a Public Relations Counsel he is liaison officer between Big Business and the Monster. In odd moments he has been a professor in very truth, for until recently he lectured on his system in New York University."

"Bernays himself is perhaps best known for two examples of dramatic high-spotting which were really no more than grandiose, glorified publicity stunts. One of these was Light's Golden Jubilee. Surely you will not have to be reminded of that amazing jamboree which took place when the story of Edison's invention of the incandescent lamp was reenacted in Dearborn, with Edison himself, Henry Ford, and the President of the United States playing the leading roles, while droves of great industrialists and financiers played the parts of villagers and supers in the cast, and radios and newspapers fought for the privilege of broadcasting it. Henry Ford was supposed to be the manager of the show, but the man who set the stage and pulled the strings attached to all the dignified marionettes was Edward L. Bernays. . . . His other outstanding performance was when he spent nearly \$70,000 for a single hour's show on the

radio to introduce a new Dodge car to the market."

"Bernays himself is quite the newest type of public relations specialist, so intelligent and so free from the conventional inhibitions that he assumes almost the character of a phenomenon."

Design and Paper. "Edward L. Bernays and the American Mind." No. 23, Dec 3, 1946. 14pp.

P. K. Thomajan outlines ELB's position in public relations in the light of his intellectual background, intellect, insight, conscience and philosophy. Outlines methods of procedure in planning action for a client and touches upon some of outstanding jobs, i.e., Beech-Nut Packing Company and as a member of Woodrow Wilson's Creel Committee on Public Information during World War I. Mr. Thomajan states, "Bernays selects his clients and causes with a

discriminating eye, and habitually turns down more jobs than he accepts. He insists that his projects be valid, legitimate and 'in the public interest.' Above all, they must be projects which the public 'can be brought to accept.' He has little patience with groups or individuals offering panaceas. A pragmatist who has long recognized the necessity for improvements in the functioning of the American system, he believes that the best hope for such improvement lies in the men with the greatest stake in it the businessmen of America." The article sums up with the following: "Against the imponderables of the future his voice will have influence not so much because of Bernays the man as Bernays the technician. Bernays the man believes in democracy. Bernays the technician can persuade people to make it work. In this decade there can be no more pressing assignment."

Literary Digest. "He Helped Make Press- A gentry

a 'Science,' " Jun 2, 1934, p.26.

Full-page story by Wayne W. Parrish on ELB, subtitled, "Success of War-Time Propaganda Opened the Eyes of Edward L. Bernays, Nephew of Doctor Freud, to 'Invisible Government' and 'Mass Mind' Control," says: "Mr. Bernays, in the event that the reader never has heard of him, has become one of the nation's two leading 'public relations counselors,' a post-war term attached to the relatively new 'science' of press-agentry. As a super-salesman without portfolio, working entirely behind

the scenes, his operation of what he calls 'opinion-management' has guided many to buy more luggage, eat bacon for breakfast, smoke more cigarettes, wear velvet instead of some other material, express preference for certain types of automobiles, and to ask for a certain soap at the corner store. He has influenced opinions of certain governments and of certain institutions and groups. He has worked to modify hundreds of ordinary habits, but always by the unconscious transference of ideas and objects through created events and circumstances."

Querschnitt, Der. "Humbug, Bluff and Ballyhoo: Von Varum bis Bernays," *Der Querschnitt*, 13 Jahrgang, Heft 4, Apr 1933, pp. 255-269. A profile of Edward L. Bernays by Arthur Rundt, in a leading German magazine subsequently suppressed by the Nazis.

Reader's Digest. "The Science of Ballyhoo." Vol. XXI, No. 122, Jun 1932. pp. 5-8. This profile of ELB by John T. Flynn is a condensation of one which appeared in *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1932, see above.

Review of Reviews. "Mass Psychologist." Vol. LXXXI, No. 3, Mar 1930. This profile by Henry Pringle about ELB is condensed from the article of the same title in the *American Mercury*, Feb 1930, see above.

Scope. "Man of the Month: Edward L. Bernays."

London: Dec 1949, ill por. pp 56-69, 91. A 15-page profile of ELB by Olive Moore. "... A handful of words at random from the pile of notes

taken in a day-long interview with Bernays when he was in London recently, and [we] see not only what he gives as service when he 'appraises' a firm's problems, but exactly why American business is willing to pay him such sums as \$100,000 a year as retainer for appraisal and advice," the writer says in

reporting the development of public relations as given by ELB, who "as he talks, . . . constantly stresses the sense of social and moral responsibility underlying the work of the Public Relations Counsel." ELB is further characterized as " 'No. 1 U. S. Publicist,' . . . highest-paid public relations man in the world, getting as much as \$125,000 for a single job . . . , a kind man . . . [with] views ... so urgent and . . . tongue so fluent, that it is hard to tear oneself away from his words to his personality . . . like all top-flight Americans . . . [met in the course of this job] very friendly, very unassuming, amazingly well-informed, staggeringly energetic, . . . immensely eager to know and see . . . [with] that trait so noticeable in Americans and so endearing, complete candour and with malice toward none. . . . The first hour is not wasted in getting acquainted, it is all there in the first hand-shake and the first smile. Fearless, is the word."

Beginning with a quotation from Machiavelli, the account emphasizes also that "We have come a long

way in the 400 years since . . . The Prince. . . . We find the Public Relations men more powerful than any princes, for their followers are the peoples of the earth, their territory the hearts and minds of everyone." The work and opinions of "pioneer Bernays [who] dissociated Public Relations from press agenting as surgery dissociated itself from the barber's pole ... in ... twenty-five years of unclouded success" are analyzed and discussed comprehensively, and with much detail, in relation to the field as well as to the personality. The introductory note says: "By precept and example Edward L. Bernays, . . . has turned public relations from the by-ways of press agent trickery to a strict and respected profession on a level with law, medicine and teaching. To Bernays, industrial public relations is a top-management function, not a matter of press hand-outs and defending the status quo. The final paragraph states: "Bernays is neither witch-doctor nor medicine man, nor wise guy. Just a man who discovered how to hold up all problems, industrial or selling, to the X-ray of common sense and solve them by the light of reason. In thirty years of doing so, it has not failed him. Being a generous man he has dissected for us the technique and science of his craft, hoping that it may help, or light a spark, or inspire an action."

Tart Three
ADDENDA

ADDENDA

This section contains necessary additions to items in the bibliography, and new items which the editors found after the body of the book had been set in page proof.

1. Advertising & Selling. "Molding Public Opinion." Reprint of speech delivered on Sept 11 at Financial Advertisers Association Convention, Atlantic City, N. J. Vol. XXV, No. 20, Sept 12, 1935, pp. 44-46.

Condensation of talk summarized on page 35 under Financial Advertisers Association.

2. Boston Conference on Retail Distribution.

"Mass Psychology and the Consumer." An address on September 22, 1930, before the Boston Conference on Retail Distribution, University Club, Boston, auspices Retail Trade Board of the Boston Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston University College of Business Administration, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 8pp.
A discussion of "successful mass psychology work in American business and social life."

-. "Business Turns to Counsel on Public

3.

Relations." pp. 39-41, 1936.

Conference sponsored by Retail Trade Board, Boston Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston University College of Business Administration, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and others.

Speaking on "Business Turns to Counsel on Public Relations" ELB said: "Business exists to function for the public. The public realizes this and judges businesses and their products by this criterion. The public policy of a business can increase or decrease sales as well as make or mar the reputation of a business. That is a fact that American industry is only now commencing to realize. . . . No longer can any business stand alone. The problems of any one business cannot today be isolated from the broad problems of industry. Because of this, business is finding it essential to re-define its function and to revalue itself in relationship to the other factors of the civilization in which it is operating. . . . The businessman needs an expert in public relations to appraise his public, understand it and recommend ways of conforming to public desire and need, as well as ways to interpret his business" acts and policies to the public. . . . The public relations counsel has made an intensive study of the public. ... He has come to the conclusion that in every case private interest and public interest must coincide if business is to maintain its important position in our economic and social life. ... It became evident to business and industry that the public was taking an interest in the conduct of business. From that time forward the good will of the public was a definite goal which

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must be attained. . . . Many industries have recognized this new factor, but not all of them. It is obvious that, in this period of flux and competition, the ones who fail to recognize it will not be able to survive. . . . Public relations activities . . . must of necessity play their part in this situation. And the American business man must consider that not only as an individual must he play his part, but that he must also take an interest in seeing that American business as a whole establishes sound relations with the public, in order to re-establish itself in the public mind as a basic part of the American system."

4.

.. "The Future of Private Enterprise in the

Post-War World." Address before Fourteenth

Conference, 1942.

An analysis of the economic, social and psychological problems which are likely to face post-war free enterprise.

ELB says: "The kind of peace that will be made, the psychology of all nations, the political, economic, and sociological forces that will arise these all will be the background for the type of private enterprise that we shall have, if we have it. ... We shall have to go from war to peace in terms of a planned approach to a continuing problem if chaos is not to result. . . . Here in the U. S. we have had a system predominantly of free enterprise. . . . But economic liberty, psychological and economic security for everyone, have not kept pace with political freedom. . . . The problems of postwar free enterprise will be, first, economic . . . secondly, the psychological, human, social problems, which comprise attitudes of people in and out of government towards this new world of theirs. . . . The industrial and commercial world must undertake important research, and undertake to build plans that will make a free enterprise world thoroughly and fairly workable. But private industry must assume leadership if it really wants private enterprise and democracy to survive into the postwar world. . . ." Indicating the main lines of study, ELB suggested study of: termination of war time controls; financial problems; labor problems; industrial problems; agriculture problems; trade and commerce; and social problems. "Business cannot depend upon the public for its survival. It can depend only upon itself and its own actions. Commerce and industry must recognize that what serves the public interest serves its own interest as well. If it will act on the recognition that private function activities must be predicated on public interest and responsibility, there will be less to fear."

5. Bryson, Lyman; Finkelstein, Louis; and Maclver, R. M., ed. "Approaches to Group Understanding". Sixth Symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion. N. Y: Harper & Brothers, 1947. 858pp. Chapter X, "The Public Relations Counsel and Group Understanding," is by ELB. pp. 100-106.

After describing advances made by the sciences in understanding semantics and communications, ELB points out that "an important trend in communications is the development of technicians and profes-

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sionals expert in the use of symbols to convey ideas" public opinion researchers, pollsters, advertising men, graphic-arts directors, public relations counsel. Taking the public relations counsel as his theme, ELB says that "public relations is concerned basically with developing understanding. The public relations counsel must understand the public, its ideas, its philosophies, its points of view, its activities and what it means by the words it uses. All this he must communicate to his client. The client, likewise, must be studied. Its actions, attitudes and principles must be analyzed and be made understandable to the public."

The public relations counsel, ELB continues, works on the premise that any group in society must integrate with other groups at the highest possible level for the common good. This means the public relations counsel has a strong sense of social responsibility and must have the knowledge, ability and judgment to determine what, in our society, is likely to be the common good. Anything the public relations man undertakes must not run counter to the democratic goals of freedom, equality and orderly justice. These goals are clearly denned in labor relations, race relations, housing, health, education, individual opportunity.

Describing the techniques of the public relations counsel, ELB says he analyzes the public in its relationship to his client, surveys all contacts between the two. He also analyzes his client, studies the

latter's objectives to find out whether they represent an attainable reality. He studies all phases of his client's activities so that he may compare them with the public's attitudes and the public needs. The public relations counsel must then interpret his findings to the client so the client may understand his own and the public's attitudes. On the basis of this interpretation, counsel makes recommendations to the client and sets forth new ideas and procedures to meet the public's point of view in such a way that the highest public good is achieved. Acts are more important than words in any effort at persuasion. An institution or corporation must act correctly in order to produce a good effect.

In conclusion, ELB says that though there are still large areas of ignorance about public relations, knowledge of the importance of this field is growing. Those who depend upon the public are learning to profit from the professional use of public relations.

6.

.. "Learning and World Peace." Eighth

Symposium of Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion. N. Y: Harper & Brothers, 1948. 694pp.

Chapter XXXVIII, "Mass Education, Idea Communications and the Problems of National Sanity and International Cooperation," is by ELB. pp. 411-417.

In this chapter, ELB discusses the following: "What trends in mass education and idea communications are making for national sanity and international cooperation? What elements are working in the opposite direction? How can the former

be stimulated and the latter be retarded?" He divides the problem of world communication into three parts: 1. The matter of providing abundant, cheap, rapid communications for messages; physical

instruments have already provided, or may soon provide, these means. 2. The matter of eliminating barriers to communications political, economic and language barriers; this is being given serious consideration by numerous bodies. 3. The problem of improving the quality of ideas, of words and pictures, of the symbols that pass over these media to bring about the objectives all good and honest men desire; this last problem certainly is the longest, hardest and most complex.

The answer to the last problem, ELB goes on to say, depends on three forces: the professions and businesses involved, the law, and public opinion. He then urges that education and training in communications be further stimulated in the universities and schools of journalism, and by the award of prizes and fellowships. He also urges that research in communications be stimulated. Those who are in the communications field professionally, he says, should have to meet higher standards. "Every man or woman who holds a position conveying symbols to the public should be prepared to meet that responsibility by having a thorough grounding in economics, human relations, and the social sciences, as well as a knowledge of the techniques of communication." ELB also urges continued education after people enter the communications field and criticism to stimulate progress.

7. Bulletin of the Business Historical Society.

Boston, The Business Historical Society, Inc.,

Vol. XIX. No. 4 Oct 1945, 195pp.

In his chapter on "Shifts in Public Relations," Prof. N. S. B. Gras of Harvard University lists ELB under "Some Isolated Developments in the History of Public Relations Counsellors": "1919 Edward L. Bernays began his career as counsel on public relations to governments, industries, corporations and trade organizations. Term used was 'publicity direction'." p. 128.

8. Chase, Stuart; Ruttenberg, Stanley H.;

Nourse, Edwin G.; Given, William B., Jr.

"The Social Responsibility of Management."
The Edward L. Bernays Foundation Lectures
of 1950. A Golden Anniversary Publication of
the School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance,

New York University. N. Y: New York University, 1951. 83pp.

In a foreword to this book, which consists of lectures delivered at New York University in April and May 1950 by four experts on management relations, ELB says the Edward L. Bernays Foundation which sponsored the lectures, was established in 1946. Its purpose is "to stimulate, promote, encourage and advance scientific, educational, literary and/or charitable causes including, without limitation, the study of the science of public relations counseling to further human relations, intercultural and intergroup relations and to advance a sound public interest

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therein." Another purpose of the Foundation is "to study and conduct research into all phases of and conditions affecting human, cultural and group relations, and the changes and improvements in the conditions of life and work among people."

"The larger foundations in this country," ELB says, "sponsor extensive research in education, health and other fields, and in that way bring about improved public relationships and better human relations. But a foundation whose funds are limited finds it difficult to decide in what field it can help effectively."

In seeking to sponsor for the year 1950 some activity in a field where the misunderstandings are of major economic and human significance, the Edward L. Bernays Foundation decided upon the field of management relationships. It was felt that one way of bringing the best thought in this field to a point of high visibility would be to underwrite a series of lectures on the social responsibility of management to be delivered at one of America's leading universities situated in a key industrial center.

"What the Foundation had in mind," ELB continues, "was a series of lectures whose purpose would be not to present one viewpoint or intensify present attitudes but rather to create a forum for calling to public attention, and particularly to the

attention of the business community, various view points which must be taken into consideration for a realistic understanding and appraisal of the social responsibility of management."

For this purpose the Foundation lectures presented the diverse viewpoints of a social engineer, Stuart Chase; a trade union leader, Stanley H. Ruttenberg, Director of the CIO's Department of Education and Research; a management executive, William B. Given, Jr., Chairman of the Board, American Brake Shoe Company; and an economist, Edwin G. Nourse, formerly chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers to the President.

9. Congressional Record. " Your Public Relations in the National Emergency." Vol. 97, No. 24, Feb. 7, 1951, Appendix, p. A678.

The Honorable Jacob K. Javits of New York obtained permission on Feb. 7, 1951 from the House of Representatives to insert in the Congressional Record "the following statement of Edward L. Bernays, well known authority on public relations of New York City, which appeared as a public advertisement." The advertisement, headed "Your Public Relations in the National Emergency," appeared in The New York Times, The New York Herald-Tribune and the New York World-Telegram & The Sun during the week of December 26, 1950. The statement appeared in the Congressional Record in full as follows:

"For some time now forward-looking Americans have recognized that private interest must coincide with public interest. This is particularly true in the present national emergency.

"But some of us have not yet awakened to this

truth. And unless everyone of us does, there may be no private interest left to worry about.

"Our national strength is founded on a unified, powerful morale.

"This morale is built by our common belief in our national goals and united action to achieve them.

"The national emergency demands that all of us on all fronts work together for the general good.

"Complete cooperation on the home front is as vital to national survival as it is on the military front.

"For the sake of his own private interest the individual must willingly sacrifice convenience, comfort and profit for the common good, endure hardships and suffering.

"For unless we maintain our continuity as a free, independent nation, we shall have nothing as individuals.

"Every American is responsible for our morale. Our national morale is the sum of our individual morales. This means that all of us, men and women, old and young, corporation executives and employees, must be willing to serve wherever and whenever we are needed. Any man who acts at the country's expense helps the enemy. If he injures his country's strength, he destroys everything he values for himself.

"Acting at America's expense includes profiteering, chiseling, black and grey marketeering, or doing anything which places personal profit above the public interest.

"It also includes slander, hate, rumor-mongering and scapegoating at the expense of public officials or private citizens.

"Our national welfare in this emergency requires that individuals, groups and corporations give the most painstaking attention to their public relationships.

"They must insure, in their own interest and in the public interest, that every action and utterance raises morale and does not lower or destroy it.

"They must make certain that their policies, words, and acts are dictated not by narrow immediate expediency but by the broader interests of self and country.

"If ever there was a time when such public relationships were indispensable, that time is now."

10. Crowther, Samuel. "Public Opinion, Private Business and Public Relations." N. Y: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1934. 26pp.

The author cites ELB as spokesman for the methods of legitimate propaganda. "If there is a case for the existing basic order," Crowther says, "the case ought to be tried out in the open ... by propaganda. Every great question today has to be settled by propaganda. There is no other way of reaching one hundred and twenty million people. There should be no other way in a nation that desires . . . to govern itself. What are the methods of legitimate propaganda? These have been very well presented by Edward L. Bernays, public relations counsel who has for years worked with the mass mind."

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Crowther then devotes the last four pages of the book to quoting the Atlantic Monthly profile of ELB (see p. 76) and from various articles and talks by ELB on public relations and the molding of public opinion.

11. Current History and Forum. "Speak Up for Democracy." Vol. LII, No. 2, Oct 22, 1940. pp. 21-24.

Captioned "No. 1 Publicist," a boxed editorial note says: "Edward L. Bernays, United States Publicist Number One, is the logical man to write the authoritative article on how individual Americans can become propagandists for democracy. In partnership with his wife, Doris E. Fleischman, he conducts the leading Counsel on Public Relations organization in this country. Mr. Bernays has served the government many times, and was a member of the United States Committee on Public Information during the World War. He is the author of *Crystallizing Public Opinion* and *Propaganda*, two of the outstanding books on this subject, and his understanding of the mass mind is widely recognized. He has lectured at Harvard, Yale and other leading universities on the subject of influencing public opinion."

Pointing out that "millions of Americans are out of sympathy with American democracy" because of the Depression, ELB's article calls upon everyone in the United States to "mold public opinion for democracy to the limit of his own power." ELB lists eight common accusations against democracy in the United States and gives extensive replies to them.

See ELB's book *Speak Up for Democracy*, p. 4.

12. Harriman, Margaret Case. "The Vicious Circle: The Story of the Algonquin Round Table." Illustrated by Al Hirschfeld. N. Y: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1951. pp. 310.

This account of the Algonquin Round Table and its famous members Dorothy Parker, Hey wood Broun, Alexander Woollcott, Robert Benchley, George S. Kaufman, Robert E. Sherwood, Harold Ross, Franklin P. Adams and others devotes three pages to "Doris E. Fleischman . . . wife of Edward L. Bernays" as member and co-founder with Jane Grant and Ruth Hale of the Lucy Stone League and as the first married woman to obtain a U. S. passport in her own name. The book describes the enthusiastic cooperation "of Broun, Ross, Bernays and all the other partners in these independent marriages."

"One Lucy Stoner, Doris Fleischman, came out in print in a magazine not long ago with the wistful revelation that she would now like to be known as Mrs. Edward L. Bernays." She is now the book adds an active reorganizer of the Lucy Stone League.

13. The Journal of Marketing. "The Marketing of National Policies: A Study of War Propaganda." Vol. 6, No. 3, Jan 1942, pp. 236-244. Editor's note: "The problem of using all this country's resources to disseminate effectively the ideas for which the democracies are contending in the

present war is one of the day's most formidable marketing problems. Mr. Bernays discusses the problem with new insight in the following paper, which he read before the New York Chapter (of the American Marketing Society) at one of its fall meetings."

Speaking before America's entrance into World War II, ELB analyzes propaganda in World War I. He cites various scientific authorities and reduces "all psychological warfare" in the first World War to three main elements: 1. heighten the morale unity of your own country; 2. weaken the morale of your enemy; 3. win over the morale of neutrals. He

then analyzes in some detail psychological warfare techniques used by Germany, Great Britain and the United States.

Since 1917, ELB continues, the situation has changed because technical means for spreading ideas have been improved; because the "common man" plays a greater role in shaping political destinies; because the rise of Communists, Nazis and Fascists has accelerated the effectiveness of manipulated symbols; and because knowledge of the human mind has been greatly increased by the social sciences. All these factors, and the experience of World War I, lead to an "engineering approach" to psychological warfare which must henceforth be based on "the engineering of consent in a democracy."

In order that the United States which has already mobilized the first peacetime selective service army in its history to be prepared "for what ever may come," ELB suggests the following psychological warfare program: 1. The Government needs to set up a psychological general staff to advise on all major questions of morale in industry, civilian life, army and navy. 2. A program needs to be set in motion to strengthen faith in democracy. 3. This should be accompanied by a program designed to make democracy work better, "making its ideals come true."

"Experts, including marketing men, have laid a sound basis for a scientific approach to the problem of psychological warfare in the crisis we face today," ELB concludes. "America should not, cannot wait. She must apply today what she already knows toward meeting the problems she faces."

14. MacLatchy, Josephine H. "Education on the Air." Thirteenth Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1942, 310pp.

Speaking in the panel discussion, ELB said that in his opinion the war effort of the radio industry and the Government was inadequate. This conclusion is confirmed by authorities all over the country, many of whom regard radio's war effort as ineffectual, inefficient, duplicating and segmental. These people do not know where to turn, for there is no planned approach to the problem of radio's all-out conversion in total war and no over-all strategy of psychological warfare. Every program commercial, sustaining,

governmental should fit into a balanced pattern. Attempts are made by networks and individual stations to do this, ELB said, but the main basis of judgment is still the cash register.

ELB then urged that the radio broadcasting industry voluntarily organize for efficient handling of its total war effort. It should name a board of experts in psychology, public opinion, radio programming and communications, to set up blueprints for accomplishing the purpose a balance of entertainment, escapism, information and criticism, and a line to follow as to content, theme, emotion and reason. The board, ELB said, should be in touch with government officials, informed about the war and the demands of the national interest. Not regimentation, he added, but intelligent planning. This will not mean the elimination of the commercial system of American broadcasting and entertainment. Entertainment is basic to morale. It will mean that radio's effectiveness will be measured, like education, by its whole effect on the mind and character of an individual.

Only by such an approach, ELB concluded, can radio's real potentialities in the war effort be realized victory through another and equally potent air power, pp. 33-34.

15. New York State Pharmacist. "The Bernays Drug and Pharmaceutical Survey," Oct 1943, pp. 9-12, 28-30.

An editorial note preceding ELB's talk before the Pharmaceutical Association says: "In the opinion of the writer the paper which we are printing here is one of the most important ones that has been published within a decade. ... Be sure to read this paper from beginning to end; it may not be all pleasant reading, but we might as well know what the survey of an expert firm found. We are printing the paper as it was presented before the American Pharmaceutical Association at its recent meeting in Columbus, Ohio," p. 9. In his talk ELB says: "Pharmacy has a choice. It can submit to pressures of public

opinion, when they exert themselves, or it can fulfill its vital role as the custodian of public welfare, at the same time gaining good will, strengthening itself, and moving into its rightful place in our society. A unified public relations effort is the means by which all of you can aid in bringing about this objective. It is difficult to devise for immediate acceptance a uniformly acceptable course of action regarding all the trends and situations you face, but that factor in itself is one of the reasons why I believe the immediate problems I presented are a common ground upon which all interested groups can carry on action. The proposed plan for public relations aimed at strengthening relations within the industry, between the industry, the pharmaceutical profession and the government, and between the industry and public is that type of common ground. I hope in your own interest that you will study it further and act on it."

16. Public Utilities Fortnightly. "What Can

Utilities Do about Public Relations Today?"

Jun 6, 1940, 128pp.

Editorial note on ELB: "The scientific or 'engineering' approach to the problem of public relations, according to this noted specialist in that field, is to dig into it and determine the respective areas of agreement and disagreement. Only then can a sound and sure program for improving public relations be formulated."

ELB says in this article that the principal trouble seems to have been not that the public utilities neglected its public relations, but that "it tried too hard to cultivate them on false grounds by making use of spurious methods and generally going about it the wrong way." These actions led to agitation for the Federal Trade Commission probe in 1928. ELB then gives results of poll he took among leaders of industry, finance and the public on what the problems and solutions of public relations are. The replies showed group leaders think in terms of their relationship to government; the public; bankers and stockholders; the community where their customers are; the industry; and their workers.

Applying this to public utilities, ELB says since government represents the people, the only modifica

tion of government attitudes and activities must be through modifying the people's attitudes through the engineering of consent. Industry leaders agree that government should go out of competitive business and should have no plants of its own; and that more consideration must be given to public attitudes, policies and practices adopted by the industry. Key executives see good employee relations as a solution rather than as a problem.

For the public utilities industry ELB suggests a four- point program: 1. that some industrial committee should be entrusted with the study of the problems and suggesting solutions for finding areas of agreement; 2. that this committee develop a program of broad principles and practices for public utility companies, then get the companies to accept them; 3. that competent technicians be engaged to make a study of the public mind to find out what present public attitudes are toward principles, practices and goals upon which the industry will decide; this survey will attempt to find out the extent to which it is possible to modify public attitudes and actions; 4. that the industry undertake a campaign of education to win the support of the public.

17. Routzahn, Ewart G., and Routzahn, Mary Swain. "Publicity Methods Reading List. Selected References on Publicity in Social Work and Kindred Fields." N. Y: Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation. 1924.

Under the heading "The Technique of Publicity," this bibliography lists Edward L. Bernays' book, *Crystallizing Public Opinion* with the following comment: "The author discusses the scope and function of a new profession, that of public relations counsel."

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18. *Saturday Review of Literature*. Vol. XXV, field of public opinion as public relations counsel No. 10, Mar 7, 1942. for more than twenty years. His partner is Doris

ELB was guest editor of this issue of *Saturday Review of Literature*. In the last war he served on the view of Literature, which is entitled "Censorship Committee of Public Information. He is the author of *Propaganda and Speak Up for Democracy*, and *Propaganda Number*." An editorial note in *thor of Propaganda and Speak Up for Democracy*,

"Contributors and Contents," says: "Edward L. Mr. Bernays reviews James R. Mock's Censorship

Bernays, guest editor of this issue, whom Time calls 1917 on page 4, and writes the editorial on page

'U. S. Publicist No. 1,' has been working in the 10."

armed forces, radio, motion pictures, television, the theatre, the press, medicine, nursing, banking, trade, management-employee relations, women, politics, public opinion, attitude polls and many other fields. References to Mr. Bernays culled from many books indicate the wide impact of his ideas on the field.

Edward L. Bernays is regarded as America's outstanding counsel on public relations, a profession he was instrumental in creating and naming. In partnership with his wife, Doris E. Fleischman, he has had a long, diversified practice, acting as public relations counsel to corporations, trade associations, newspapers, magazines, scientific organizations and leading individuals since 1919.

He was the first lecturer on public relations at any American university when he gave a course on that subject at New York University in 1923. In the past two years he has given public relations courses as Adjunct Professor at New York University and Visiting Professor at the University of Hawaii.

Mr. Bernays has been advisor to Presidents and has represented the United States Government in various activities. He is the author of "Crystallizing Public Opinion," "Propaganda," "Speak up for Democracy," "Take Your Place at the Peace Table," and

other books ; he is a frequent contributor to magazines, social science journals and newspapers; and is preparing a book on public relations for the University of Oklahoma Press.

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